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Several Questions on Party News Work

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Uphold the Guideline Calling for Emphasis on Positive Publicity

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in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 90 pp 8-18

[Speech by Li Ruihuan at a news work discussion class on 25 November 1989; published in FBIS-CHI-90-045, 7 Mar 90 pp 14-24]

The Historic Choice and Victory of the Chinese Women's Liberation Movement—In Commemoration of the 80th Anniversary of the International Working Women's Day, 8 March

HK0104033690 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH]
in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 90 pp 19-23, 28

[Article by Chen Muhua (7115 1970 5478)]

[Text] This year is the 80th anniversary of the "8 March" International Women's Day. Working women have marked 8 March as the day to remember their struggle for liberation. This indicates that the women's movement has sprung up and flourished. The symbol of 8 March has become the great banner held by all women involved in their liberation movement in the world. The hardworking and brave Chinese women held this banner high and followed the CPC. With the Marxist theory of women as their weapon, Chinese women mobilized themselves and created the great women's liberation movement in contemporary Chinese history. In commemorating this "8 March" festival, we should further study the Marxist theory of women's problems, review the victorious journey of the Marxist Chinese women's movement, summarize the experiences from this journey, and explore the way to improve women's role. This would be a meaningful way to celebrate the festival.

Uphold the Marxist Concept On Women

Marxists look at women's issues from the standpoint of historical progress and class liberation. Marxism analyzes and explains the root and development of inequalities between the sexes, the condition and means to rectify these inequalities, and women's status, functions, and rights in society.

According to the Marxist viewpoint, women were repressed and discriminated against for several thousand years. This phenomenon was the product of an unavoidable social historical process, when social productivity and division of labor were developed. The repression and discrimination of women began at the same time that private property ownership and class antagonism emerged. During this historical process women gradually

lost the opportunity to take part in social labor, and also lost their means of production. They were dependent on men, economically and politically, and became slaves to their housework. We could say that class oppression was the reason behind the suppression of women and the inequality between men and women. As Engels said, "The first class antagonism appeared in history at the time when the system of monogamy came into existence and antagonism between husbands and wives developed. The first class oppression came at the same time when women were enslaved by men." Under the system of slavery and feudalism, women had absolutely no individual personality nor dignity. They certainly did not get equal rights economically or politically. Under the capitalist system, women generally could not get out of their dependent roles, even though capitalists have uttered the slogan of equality among men and women. Under the capitalist system, the causes of repression never went away.

Marxists do not think that women should only play a passive role in social development. On the contrary, women are one of the great forces that propel society forward. Women constitute almost half the population. Women, as well as men, are the creators of material and spiritual civilization in human society. Furthermore, human societies will not exist if there is no human reproduction. This contribution is made by women, who carry the special duty of human reproduction. This important contribution of women needs to be recognized by society and should be properly evaluated. Women's dedication and their special biological function deserve full respect and protection. Civilized and progressive societies should have laws and morals that undertake this duty and obligation.

If women want to be liberated, they need to participate extensively in public life. Engels pointed out, "As long as women are being excluded from productive activities in society and as long as their duty is limited to private labor in their families, women's liberation and equality will not be possible, neither now nor in the future. The liberation of women will be possible only when women can take part in many kinds of productive work in society, and when housework will only take up very little of their time." "The prerequisite that determines women's liberation is that all women should go back to work in public." This can happen only in a socialist environment where there are big, modern industries. Lenin pointed out that the basic route to women's liberation was to first establish proletarian political power, so that women, along with the repressed and enslaved men, can become masters of the new society. The first, and the most crucial step, of liberating women is to achieve legal equality between men and women. Then, private ownership of the means of production should be changed to socialist public ownership. Public economy can then be built on a grand scale. At the same time, productivity and education should grow vigorously in order to improve women's qualifications and create a suitable environment, so that women can participate in

all kinds of national, social, economic, and cultural activities. When women can get out of the narrow surroundings of their families, then true equality between women and men can happen. Of course, we must understand that this historical assignment takes a long time, particularly for economically underdeveloped countries. Even after the socialist system is established, there is a limit to what the women's liberation movement can achieve, since the level of productivity may be too low. Even if there is legal equality between men and women in these countries, true equality will not occur until the productivity of these countries increases, for this is a process that will take some time. It is a complicated business and involves serious responsibility. If we don't understand this point, then we have oversimplified and idealized the road to women's liberation.

The Marxist theory of women is essentially different from Western feminism. We do not deny that Western feminism and the feminist movement have had a positive influence on the improvement and uplifting of women's status in capitalist societies. However, Western feminists have avoided the essence of the issue—class exploitation—the essence of capitalist private ownership and its means of production. Therefore, feminist theory and the feminist movement can improve the situation and condition of only a small number of women, since capitalist societies emphasize and respect only the rights of assets. Human rights and women's rights are not recognized nor respected. Only the Marxist theory of women can properly identify the cause of women's repression. Only Marxism can explain the goal of women's liberation, as well as how and when to achieve this goal. The Marxist theory of women is clearly revolutionary and scientific. It is a true ideological weapon that can liberate women.

The Victory of the Marxist Concept on Women in China

For a long time, the majority of women were governed by feudalism. They were bound by ropes made of reactionary political power, clan power, religious power, and husband power. They were always struggling at the bottom layer of society, terribly humiliated and injured. At the end of the Ming dynasty and the beginning of Qing dynasty when capitalist means of production were first introduced to China, the idea of fighting for women's equality began to sprout. During the Wuxu Reform Movement, reformers built schools for women, eschewed foot-binding, and advocated equality between men and women. At the beginning of the 20th century, more people demanded that women be liberated. After the Xinhai Revolution, some women joined the military service and some participated in politics. The women's movement of the bourgeois advanced one step forward in contemporary China. These sorts of movements did, to a certain extent, help Chinese women in their awakening. But nobody detected the real causes of repression against

Chinese women. The causes were feudalism, imperialism, and bureaucratic capitalism—the three big mountains. Therefore, the Chinese women's movement did not get onto the correct path. This illustrates the fact that the liberation of Chinese women couldn't be done if one did not go to the bottom of the political and economic system in semifeudal, semicolonial China.

It was only after the CPC was established that we could combine Marxism and experience from the Chinese Revolution, including the women's liberation movement. The liberation of Chinese women could then go in the right direction. The first "Resolution of the Women's Movement" was made at the Second CPC Representative Conference in 1922. The resolution said that "women will not be liberated under capitalism." "Women's liberation follows labor liberation. Only when the proletariat has political power can women be truly liberated." It also said that the CPC "will fight for the benefit of all repressed women." Since then, Chinese women have made their choice: Their liberation movement would follow the leadership of the CPC. They made a historical decision in choosing Marxism as their ideological weapon, and they linked their fate with the liberation of the race and the classes. This decision became the backbone of the women's liberation movement.

All through the bloody and heated struggles for the new democratic revolution, Chinese women fought arm in arm with men in the 28 years of difficult but supreme battles. They shared the fruits of victory during the high points of the revolution and sacrificed themselves at times of failure. Women gradually grew up and matured, tempered by these cruel struggles. In the end, their hard work and sacrifices gave them the joyous result they were waiting for. 1949 was the year that marked the beginning of the Chinese women's liberation movement. New China was founded, and the old system was pronounced dead. This signified the liberation of the Chinese people and new life for Chinese women.

The first Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference passed a "common program," which was equivalent to a temporary constitution. This document clearly stated that the feudal system of restricting women must be abolished. "Women have the same rights as men, politically and economically, in culture and education, in family and social life. Freedom of marriage should be implemented." In 1954 New China formulated its first Constitution, and in 1982 the National People's Congress passed the Constitution. The Constitution further clarified and defined women's basic rights under the socialist system. Based on the clear understanding of women's basic rights, the state has drafted and drawn up a set of laws and regulations relating to women's rights and benefits. This is to guarantee Chinese women the same legal equality as men; their rights will also be better protected by these improved laws.

Meanwhile, the establishment and development of socialist society has created the condition for a large

number of Chinese women to get out of their houses, get into society, and to take part in a wide range of productive work. Our nation has gradually applied and implemented the Marxist theory of women which says "that the first requisite of women's liberation is to have all women go back to public work." The number of our woman employees has increased from 600,000 in 1949 to more than 50 million. Since the reform and open policies have been carried out, women have become main players in all lines of economic construction.

More and more Chinese women are participating in a wide range of social and political activities. Their right to participate in government and political affairs has been fully ratified. The number of women representatives at the First National People's Congress in 1954 was 147, 12 percent of the total number of representatives. At the seventh congress in 1988, the number of women representatives had increased to 634, or 21.3 percent of the total. The number of women cadres has expanded 23 times, from 366,000 women in 1951 to 8,700,000 now. A woman's right to be educated is also being observed. The number of women in school increases every year. In 1985 there were about 80 million girl students in school, including 510,000 (30 percent of all students) in universities, 20 million (40 percent) in high schools, and 59.86 million (44.8 percent) in primary schools.

The changes happening in New China tell us that the deeply rooted feudalism ideology of male superiority is severely criticized and disapproved of by most people. Even though it may be stubbornly clinging on, this ideology has become socially despised. On the whole, our society acknowledges and embraces the value of women.

The Basic Experience of the Chinese Women's Liberation Movement

We can summarize our basic experiences gained from the Chinese women's liberation movement.

I. We Must Uphold Marxism, CPC Leadership, and Socialist Direction.

It was Marxist theory that provided the correct guidance for the Chinese women's movement. It was the leadership of the CPC that helped connect Marxism with the liberation movement, so that the movement went without wobbling onto the right path to continuous victory. It is socialism that implemented and guaranteed the status and rights that Chinese women deserved to have in society. The socialist reform and open policy in particular provided a wide world for women to pursue their social values. After a long period of exploration, Chinese women, while fighting for their liberation, decided to follow the historical trend of development and chose Marxism, CPC leadership, and socialist direction.

II. Woman's Liberation Is Intimately Connected With the Progress of the Whole Society. Women Are Enthusiastically Pushing Our Society Forward and Seek Their Liberation Through the Advancement of Society.

The socialist system provides the premise and guarantee for women's liberation in our country. Then why is there still inequality of the sexes? The reason for this is that the progress of women's liberation is restricted by both the relations of production and the standard of productivity. The progress of women is also controlled by the advancement of material, as well as spiritual civilization. The level of productivity in our country is not high. Machinery and automation are not yet common in the process of production. Because production still depends on and demands a lot of physical strength, women do not work as well as men in many areas. Women's physical strength and their physiological characteristics have become the objective and unfavorable reality that hinders their participation in social production. This has created difficulties and obstacles for women who are choosing or looking for jobs. The law requires that women have the same right to work, but we cannot always enforce the law. Women's liberation in a socialist environment depends on the development of social productivity. Women must take initiatives to improve social productivity and consider improving productivity as their duty. When the standard of productivity of the whole society continues to rise, then inequality based on natural and biological differences will gradually disappear.

III. Under Party Leadership, We Establish and Continue To Develop Women's Organization.

The main energy and resources of the women's liberation movement come from women. Only when women organize themselves can they form a real force. Based on this understanding, the CPC, during different periods of the new democratic revolution, emphasized using many sorts of organizations to mobilize all women, so that they could play an active role in the anti-imperialist and antiféudalist struggle and revolution. Women fought to win the revolution and to gain their liberation. When the new democratic revolution was about to score a complete victory, the All-China Women's Federation, an organization for all Chinese women, was established with the party's help and guidance. From then on, the process of liberating Chinese women was the duty of the federation. The federation shouldered the historical responsibility to organize and mobilize all women, to work for the revolution and construction. In turn, women could be liberated. The federation is the bridge and the link between the party and all women. It represents and defends woman's benefits. It is an important pillar supporting state power. It is also the school and foundation for training women.

IV. Women Need To Have Self-Esteem, Self-Confidence, Independence, and Strength. They Are the New Women With Ideals, Morals, Culture, and Discipline. They Never Stop Working for the Realization of Total Liberation.

Time may progress, and may create the conditions for women's liberation; but it can never take the place of women fighting for their own liberation. Women's liberation is utterly women's business. If women do not work hard and actively dedicate their efforts to their own progress, if instead they do things that would ruin women's image, then not only will women not be able to obtain equal status and rights, they may even damage or lose their independence and the respect they enjoyed before. Everybody knows that women do not begin from the same starting line as men in social life. If a woman wants to succeed, she must work harder and overcome more difficulties. Therefore, women must have self-esteem, self-confidence, independence, and strength. They have to go all out to earn respect and recognition in society, to fight for the status and rights they deserve, and finally achieve a total liberation.

V. We Should Extensively Mobilize the Energy of All Members in the Society, To Fight Together for Accomplishing the Goal of Women's Liberation.

We need the support and help of the whole society in order to defend women's rights, to improve the qualification of women, to cultivate women's talent, and to help women achieve. On the other hand, prejudice against women has been around for a long time and is still a common phenomenon in society. In many corners of our society and in many facets of life, discrimination stubbornly clings on. For instance, mercenary marriages still happen in some places, and there are many serious problems involving the humiliation and kidnapping of women. We need to persevere in our combat against these problems by coordinating and combining ideology, morals, administration, and law. This work involves every side of our society. This is women's work, but it is also a duty shared by the whole society.

These experiences come from the practical work of liberating Chinese women. The experiences come from the development and improvement Chinese women made by studying the Marxist theory of women. The work to define women's roles today and tomorrow can use these experiences as a guide.

The Important Duty of Women's Work Today

If we want to do well in the job of helping women, we must consciously follow the leadership of the party, pursue the party's basic line, focus our work according to the target task of the party, and proceed with our job independently and creatively. With these requisites in mind, people who are responsible for helping women should pay attention to the following points:

I. We Should Mobilize All Women To Enthusiastically Involve Themselves in the Work of Socialist Construction and Reform.

At present, we should think and act according to the spirit of the Fourth and the Fifth Plenary Sessions of the 13th CPC Central Committee. We should be persistent and thorough in carrying out the Central Committee's decision in favor of further rectification, reorganization, and reform. We have to play an active role in socialist economic construction. Chinese women can prove their intelligence and talents by developing socialist productivity, and by striving for the goal of doubling the GNP in the nineties. We must take initiatives in socialist reform and improve the relations of production. We should devote ourselves to the making of socialist democratic politics and a socialist legal system. We should actively take part in the construction of spiritual civilization, advocate and learn about Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, uphold the four cardinal principles, oppose bourgeois liberalization, and develop patriotism and the spirit of perseverance.

II. We Should Work Hard To Improve the Qualifications of Women.

To have good qualifications is important and essential for women who want to liberate themselves. Besides, women make up half the population. Their improvement does very much relate to the better quality of the whole race, the prosperity of our country, and the advancement of social civilization. But we are faced with an objective fact; that is, on the whole, the qualifications of Chinese women are still low. At present, there are 200 million illiterates in China, 70 percent of them women. This tells us that elevating women's quality is a most important task. To improve women's cultural qualifications, more women should acquire scientific knowledge, production technology, and skills. To raise their political and ideological standards, more women should take part in political affairs, improve their minds and abilities, and make good use of the legal system. Women cadres have to pay special attention to the bettering of their understanding of theories and policies. To improve their mental abilities, women should dispel the old traditional ideas that have been the residue of several thousand years, and break off the invisible shackles in their minds. Women can then conquer their weakness and inferior feeling, develop their ambitious spirits, strive for goodness, and cultivate broader minds. This is a long and difficult assignment. We must be more attentive and persistent.

III. We Should Be More Active in Strengthening the Organization of the Women's Federation, So That We Will Be Able To Make the Best of Its Functions and Capabilities.

The Women's Federation is a people's organization for all women, led by the Communist Party. It plays an active role in building up socialism and in reform. Its function in organizing and mobilizing the masses to work for the goal of building a socialist democratic

government is irreplaceable. Therefore we must work hard to improve the construction of the Women's Federation so that all the districts, communities, and clans can be combined unilaterally, organized on various levels, and connected by their duties. The federation's key policy is "to accentuate work at the grassroots level." We must follow this policy of emphasizing the building up of grassroots organizations and strengthening the vitality of these organizations. At the same time we must focus on the most important work of the party, select our assignment, and examine our viewpoint. The Women's Federation should be widely used as the bridge and bond between the party and women. It should represent women and safeguard their benefits. It should fulfill its function as a social pillar supporting the state, and it should function as a base where female talents are cultivated and allocated. It unites women of different races and connects them closely with the party. Women can then devote themselves to the work of safeguarding the socialist political direction and maintaining a stable and united political situation. The Women's Federation has to make the best of its special characteristics and advantages. It must change its work style to prevent the federation from turning into just another administrative unit. It should frequently go to the grassroots level, be sympathetic to people's suffering, listen carefully to women's voices, and make early reports to the party and government. The federation should treat people warmly and help them solve their problems. It should insist on doing its job well and insist on avoiding empty talk.

IV. We Should Really Study and Solve the New Problems, Truly Defend and Safeguard the Rights and Status of Women.

Recently, we have encountered many new problems concerning women's role, problems such as difficulties in finding schools for children, in obtaining positions, and in finding jobs. There are also problems concerning women losing their jobs or being unemployed, women and girls being kidnapped, and women involved in prostitution. There are many reasons behind these problems. We must conduct a serious study of these problems and this new situation. We must look at the problems from an ideological point of view and seek a correct explanation. The principle for solving these problems is to follow the direction of women's liberation, find some workable solution, and truly defend and guarantee women's rights and benefits. First, all responsible organizations and government offices from different levels should fulfill their responsibilities. Second, women's organizations have to play a more active role. Third, women themselves ought to maintain their self-respect, self-confidence, independence, and strength. Fourth, women need sympathy and support from the whole society.

Recently, the Central Committee sent a notice to the unions, the Communist Youth League, and the Women's Federation about the strengthening of party leadership over these organizations. This notice summarizes the experiences of the party leadership through the years,

including newer experiences during the past decade. The party gave the people's organizations, the Women's Federation included, a high evaluation. It also designed a set of important rules. This gives all those who work for improving women's role great encouragement, but also makes them understand the seriousness of their duties. The notice from the Central Committee will be our guideline and program for activities. We will follow the spirit of the notice and develop our work in this new historical period, and we will continue to seek new accomplishments in promoting our women's liberation movement.

Launch Activities of Emulating Lei Feng in a Penetrating and Sustained Manner

HK3003020690 Beijing QIUSHI [SEEKING TRUTH] in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 90 pp 24-28

[Article by the Organization and Propaganda Departments of the Chinese PLA General Political Department]

[Text] In March 1963, Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De, Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun, and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation highly praised the revolutionary spirit of Lei Feng in an ebullient inscription. Following this, mass activities to emulate Comrade Lei Feng were extensively launched on a nationwide scale. Although the past 27 years had seen many setbacks in the socialist cause and many ups and downs in activities of emulating Lei Feng, the image of Lei Feng remained alive in the hearts of the people all the while. Many units and individuals, especially the armed force units of the People's Liberation Army [PLA], have played an important role in promoting socialist material and spiritual development by persisting in activities of emulating Lei Feng and striving to carry forward the Lei Feng spirit. Today, the party Central Committee and the Central Military Commission have again called on the whole country and the whole army to extensively launch activities of emulating Lei Feng. This represents the aspirations of the people and embodies the requirements of the times. We must make a serious effort to comprehend the profound significance of this call and launch activities of emulating Lei Feng in a penetrating and sustained manner.

I

Lei Feng was born into a poor peasant family in Hunan. Before liberation, he "struggled desperately to stay alive in the pit of hell" like the rest of the laboring masses. After liberation, Lei Feng went to school and became a worker, eventually joining the big revolutionary school of the People's Liberation Army. He conscientiously studied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, gradually cultivated and strengthened his belief in socialism, learned "how to conduct oneself and who to live for," and formed his revolutionary world outlook and outlook on life. He derived enormous ideological impetus from this. He cherished the Communist Party, obeyed the party, resolutely followed the party, and always adhered

to a firm and correct political orientation. He cherished the people and regularly performed good deeds for the people. He consciously plunged into the socialist cause, worked with contentment at ordinary posts, and never looked down on his own work. He was not only a good hand at labor, but was also adept at technical skills. He placed himself in the midst of the masses, united with comrades, refrained from arrogance and rashness, boldly conducted criticism and self-criticism, "constantly eliminated ideological mistakes," and made progress by constantly overcoming his own shortcomings. He zealously emulated heroic and exemplary figures, "always measured himself against these heroic deeds," and drew strength from these heroes. The road he traversed epitomized the sturdy growth of a generation of socialist new people and their spirited life.

The Lei Feng spirit may be condensed as a class stand with clear-cut standards of love and hate, the nail spirit of studying assiduously, the ideological awareness of wholeheartedly serving the people, the work style of hard struggle, and the screw spirit of loving what one does and striving to perfect one's skills. The Lei Feng spirit was developed under the party's education and the nurture of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It carried forward and developed the glorious revolutionary traditions of our party and our Army, and embodied deep love for the socialist system and devotion to the communist ideal. It is the banner of the vast numbers of party members, progressive youths, and revolutionary fighters. The Lei Feng spirit is also the crystallization of the age-old traditional virtues of the Chinese nation as well as the noble temperament and spiritual state of mankind. The fine moral qualities of Lei Feng have set an affable and respectable example for all kind and justice-loving people. Hence, the Lei Feng spirit has won the high esteem of people of various nationalities in China, and has won the wide acclaim of peace-loving and progressive peoples the world over.

Due to the unchecked spread of bourgeois liberalization, activities of emulating Lei Feng met with formidable obstructions in recent years. Fang Lizhi, Liu Binyan, and other prominent figures who engaged in bourgeois liberalization viciously attacked and distorted the Lei Feng spirit. They said that "Lei Feng is the prototype of the theory of the tool" and that the "Lei Feng idea is shopworn." They smeared mud on activities of emulating Lei Feng, saying that they "obstructed social progress."

Some of our comrades also became skeptical about the necessity of emulating Lei Feng under the new situation, maintaining that at the present stage "the emulation of Lei Feng is outdated" and "advocation of the Lei Feng spirit is over the mark." These ideas are extremely wrong. In our present drive to achieve socialist modernization, we will get nowhere without a powerful spiritual driving force that can unite and rally everyone. The Lei Feng spirit is precisely this spiritual force. By extensively launching activities of emulating Lei Feng, we will be

able to fully arouse the enthusiasm of the masses, effectively resist the corrosive influence of bourgeois liberalization and other corrupt ideas of exploiting classes, promote the formation and development of a healthy mood of society, and encourage the people in their millions to march courageously forward. This is precisely what happened in real life. In the 10 years since reform and opening the country to the outside world, many Lei Feng-styled people have come to the fore on various fronts through the launching of activities to emulate Lei Feng. Among them were Lai Ning [6351 1337], the good boy who heroically sacrificed his life fighting a hill fire; Zhang Haidi [1728 3189 6611], the outstanding youth who demonstrated high aspirations despite being physically handicapped; and Deng Jiaxian [6772 3006 0341], the Communist Party member who dedicated himself to the cause of science and technology for national defense. The People's Liberation Army, in particular, may be called the reincarnation and extension of the Lei Feng spirit. Whether on the Laoshan front or in curbing the turmoil and quelling the counterrevolutionary rebellion last year, they went through fire and water, endured humiliation and did not hesitate to shed blood and sacrifice their lives for the benefit the people. Whenever ideological and political work is slackened and the Lei Feng spirit is neglected and calumniated, moribund ideas that are decadent and demoralizing will spread, and egoism, moral degeneration, extravagance, and waste will prevail. It can thus be seen that the Lei Feng spirit represents the spirit of our times. It is not only not outdated, but must be advocated and carried forward. Only in this way will China's socialist modernization proceed smoothly.

II

Today, activities of emulating Lei Feng have entered the first spring of the 1990's. After going through storms and arduous searches in socialist revolution and construction over the past 27 years, our party and our people have become more mature. Under the new situation, we must try to understand the rich substance of the Lei Feng spirit in greater depth and with greater breadth of vision, and more deeply uncover the temporal significance of the Lei Feng road. At present, we must emulate the Lei Feng spirit in a more penetrating way on the following three levels:

1. Learn from Lei Feng his proletarian stand with clear-cut love and hate and his firm belief in socialism.

The kernel of the Lei Feng spirit is his firm proletarian stand with clear-cut love and hate. This is the essential distinction between Lei Feng, the communist fighter, and heroes of other social systems and classes, and is the key aspect that must first be grasped in the emulation of the Lei Feng spirit in the 1990's. We cannot simply emulate Lei Feng as a paragon of virtue. Some comrades held that since Lei Feng's proletarian stand means hatred and vigilance against the landlords, there is no need to stress this quality of his now that exploiting classes have been eliminated. This understanding needs clarification.

As proved by theory and practice, although exploiting classes have been wiped out in the primary stage of socialism, class struggle still exists in given scopes and may turn out to be acute at times. In the international arena, the imperialists have also stepped up their activities of "peaceful evolution" against us. Hence, learning from Lei Feng's staunch spirit of fighting the enemy is still of important immediate significance. In fact, during the time when Lei Feng was growing up, the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production led by the party had basically been completed. As an outstanding communist fighter, Lei Feng's proletarian stand was expressed not merely through his hatred of the old society, but primarily through his love for the new socialist system, his firm belief in communism, and his actions in staunchly defending the socialist system, enthusiastically taking part in socialist construction, and actively striving for the early realization of communism. These are precisely the principal aspects that we are required to learn from Lei Feng in the new times.

Lei Feng's love for the socialist system did not come just from his personal feelings about the immense changes in his own life and social status. It also came from the fact that he had come, from his study of Marxist theories and his deliberations on the history and destiny of the nation and the state, to the profound understanding that "only socialism can save China." He regarded the socialist system as his lifeblood, and organically combined patriotism with socialism, defending the motherland as a soldier with defending the socialist system, and the pursuit of personal happiness, a flourishing nation, and a rich and powerful motherland with loyalty to socialism. He considered his assiduous labor and concrete work as his contribution to socialist construction. When socialism encountered temporary difficulties, Lei Feng did not flinch from his responsibilities or give up hope. Instead, he urged himself to work even harder with his firm belief in socialism. His admirable spirit was the concentrated expression of the mental outlook of the whole country in the 1950's and 1960's, when everyone cherished the socialist system and courageously surmounted difficulties.

Today, our socialist construction is again in temporary difficulty. In emulating the Lei Feng spirit, we must, like Lei Feng, cherish the socialist system, firmly believe in socialism, maintain a firm stand in struggle, and never flinch from difficulties. This is the most important item of our activities of emulating Lei Feng in the 1990's.

2. Learn from Lei Feng his love for the party and his high revolutionary awareness in being true to the people and wholeheartedly serving them.

A brilliant and widely acclaimed aspect of the Lei Feng spirit is his idea of wholeheartedly serving the people. His spirit of serving the people and his high revolutionary awareness of being true to the party and the people are inseparable. At first the driving force behind Lei Feng's idea of serving the people was the simple thought of repaying the party for helping him stand on

his own feet and become an emancipated person. As he grew under the party's tutelage, especially after joining the Army and becoming a party member, he began to understand that it is the party's job to fight for the people's emancipation and happiness, that the party has no special interests of its own apart from the interests of the people, that "the voice of the party is the voice of the people," and that as a party member and a revolutionary soldier led by the party, he can only have one aim in life, namely to serve the people wholeheartedly. He willingly played the part of the "fool" who was of use to the people, always encouraged himself to be a good "orderly of the people," and resolved to "devote all his energy, even his own life, to the freedom, emancipation, and happiness" of the people. A high proletarian party spirit was the powerful ideological source of Lei Feng's conscious decision to serve the people.

The reason the masses loved Lei Feng so much and actively supported and participated in activities of emulating Lei Feng was that they saw in Lei Feng the aim of our party and our Army to serve the people wholeheartedly. In recent years, the spirit of serving the people was neglected and weakened to varying degrees in our party and in society. Some party members, leading cadres, and leading organs showed tendencies to be estranged from the masses. In particular, corrupt practices have been spreading in recent years, in some cases even to a serious extent. Of course there are many reasons for such a state of affairs, but we can say that to a fairly large extent this has been induced by bourgeois liberalization. However, those who stubbornly engaged in bourgeois liberalization seized this opportunity to viciously sow discord between the party and the people, as a result of which the prestige of the party was affected. If this problem was not given sufficient attention and effectively solved, we would not be able to face the storm and overcome difficulties. This is the profound and dynamic reason why the masses are now crying out for Lei Feng and urgently seeking Lei Feng. In activities of emulating Lei Feng, we must, like Lei Feng, combine our love for the party with our love for the people. Every party member, especially leading cadres, must carry forward the party's fine tradition of the mass line, effectively strengthen ties to the masses, always bear the interests of the people in mind, and serve the people wholeheartedly. The masses must believe that the party is the faithful representative of their fundamental interests and closely rally around the party. When close ties have been established between the cadres and the masses and between the party and the masses, we will be able to surmount all difficulties and proceed smoothly in our cause of socialist construction and reform.

3. Learn from Lei Feng his conscious use of lofty ideals to guide concrete deeds and strive to contribute our share at our respective posts.

An admirable aspect of the Lei Feng spirit is his conscious use of lofty revolutionary ideals to guide his own concrete deeds. His ideals were not vague—they had solid and rich content. His deeds were not blind—they had a clear and definite orientation of struggle and were

therefore conscious, sustained, and consistent. As a person with lofty revolutionary ideals, Lei Feng followed the laws of social development and consciously and voluntarily "devoted all his energy and his entire life to the cause of the emancipation of mankind—communism." He used this lofty ideal to try to comprehend life and set the norms of his living, and strove to combine lofty ideals with concrete deeds. For this reason, he was able to give no thought to personal gain or loss, to do good deeds for the people at all times and in all places, to devote himself selflessly to society, to do what he loved and seek perfection in what he did, to submit consciously to organizational arrangements, to vow to play the role of a "screw" in revolution, to perform extraordinary deeds at ordinary posts, and to become a great communist fighter.

In recent years, influenced by extreme individualism, nihilism, and other trends of thought, some people have become spiritually idle and decadent and morally degenerate. They regarded the pursuit of "real benefits" as the aim of life and considered Lei Feng's spirit of the "screw" as a loss of the self. The fact is, the spirit of the "screw" does not mean blind submission. It is precisely because Lei Feng truly understood the law of social development and the aim of life that he was able to consciously handle well the relations between the individual on the one hand and the collective and the state on the other. This is something unthinkable as far as the egoists and idealists are concerned. The conditions of our society today have undergone great changes compared with the 1950's and 1960's in which Lei Feng lived: The people's living standards have seen tremendous improvements and the relationship between the state, the collective, and the individual has been properly adjusted. Nonetheless, how to perceive the relations of the individual with the collective and the state and how to perceive the relationship between life and ideals remains a major question confronting each and everyone of us. Hence, emulating Lei Feng still has great significance today. On the pretext that times have changed, the trend of bourgeois liberalization encouraged people to give up the communist ideal and become slaves of money, that is, short-sighted people who can only see their immediate interests, or who even infringe upon the interests of the collective and the state for the sake of personal interests. This will only lead people astray.

III

Our times need the Lei Feng spirit, our people yearn for the Lei Feng spirit, and our party and Army need more Lei Feng-style fighters. In order to ensure that activities of emulating Lei Feng are launched in a penetrating and sustained manner, we must take effective measures and do a good job of organizational work in various fields.

First, we must correct the distortions made by those who engaged in bourgeois liberalization against the Lei Feng spirit, clean up the consequences of the defamation of the image and reputation of Lei Feng, and restore the glorious image of Lei Feng in people's minds. It was with

this in mind that the General Political Department recently republished *Selections From the Diary of Lei Feng*. It wanted to see the true image of Lei Feng take deep roots among the vast numbers of cadres and fighters. However, publicity for activities of emulating Lei Feng still needs correct guidance. Many units have organized young people to do good deeds in their activities of emulating Lei Feng. This is an encouraging sign. There is no doubt that we must not overlook the need to do good deeds when emulating Lei Feng because the Lei Feng spirit refers to the countless commonplace and trivial good deeds performed by Lei Feng. However, we cannot reduce activities of emulating Lei Feng to a mere call to do some good deeds. It is more important that we work hard on emulating Lei Feng's basic spirit. We must learn from his broad-mindedness, and this state of mind is reflected first and foremost on issues of right and wrong that concern the destiny of the party and the state. Only in this way will activities of emulating Lei Feng have a more far-reaching impact and have more long-lasting and exuberant vitality.

In activities of emulating Lei Feng, we must proceed from reality and set different requirements for young people, party members, and cadres as distinct levels. In launching activities of emulating Lei Feng among the youngsters, particular attention must be paid to education in world outlook and outlook on life. We must stimulate them with Lei Feng's lifelong pursuit and noble character, and help them correctly handle the relationship between the individual and society, between giving and taking, between hard struggle and material comforts, so they will gradually develop a correct outlook on life. The Army, which has a high concentration of young people and has the glorious tradition of emulating Lei Feng, should positively respond to the call of the party Central Committee and the Central Military Commission and set a good example for young people throughout the country by conducting the emulation in a more down-to-earth and penetrating manner.

Leading cadres at various levels should take the lead in emulating Lei Feng, be the first to practice the Lei Feng spirit, and use their own exemplary deeds to influence and lead grassroots cadres and fighters in emulating Lei Feng. This is the key to the penetrating, sustained, and healthy development of activities of emulating Lei Feng. It is also the strong desire of the masses. The regiment to which Lei Feng belonged has done remarkably well as a result of persisting in emulating Lei Feng. An important experience of this regiment is that its leaders take the lead in the emulation. Leading cadres at various levels should follow their example and be able to say that "I emulate Lei Feng, and everyone emulates me." Leadership at various levels should set higher standards for activities of emulating Lei Feng. Like Lei Feng, they should assiduously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, develop the spirit of hard struggle, honestly perform their official duties, overcome bureaucracy, consciously resist the corrosive influence of decadent ideas, and wholeheartedly serve the people. At present, leading cadres at various levels of the Army are

implementing the eight-character demand of "study, maintain unity, be honest, and seek the truth" put forward by the Military Commission. Through their own exemplary deeds, they are striving to deepen activities of emulating Lei Feng in the Armed Forces.

In order to increase the attraction and appeal of activities of emulating Lei Feng, we must have correct policies. As far as the Armed Forces are concerned, this means that comrades who have done exceptionally well in activities of emulating Lei Feng should be given wide publicity and priority consideration in party membership application, school enrollment, promotion, employment, the granting of meritorious awards, and so on. This will put an end to the abnormal phenomenon found in some units where the emulation of Lei Feng and rendering of good deeds are treated with indifference. Due to the influence of bourgeois liberalization and other erroneous ideas, indifference to moral qualities prevailed in society during the preceding period. Some people became self-centered. They cared for no one but themselves, did not extend a helping hand even when they saw someone dying or in difficulty, talked about money and gains all the time, jeered at activities of emulating Lei Feng, and even ridiculed and spoke sarcastically about advanced personages in emulating Lei Feng. This tendency and atmosphere must be fundamentally put to an end.

In emulating Lei Feng, we must combine the emulation of Lei Feng's own deeds with the emulation of the advanced deeds of other heroic and model figures. In the course of protracted revolutionary struggle and the practice of socialist construction, a large number of heroic and model figures with the Lei Feng spirit have come to the fore in the country and the Army. Many of them are still fighting at their respective posts. They are living Lei Fengs. When we emulate their advanced deeds, we can actually see and feel what we are emulating. This makes the emulation more direct and convincing. There are many as yet undiscovered Lei Feng-style people around us. We should see to it that their experience is promptly summed up and commended. At present, the armed force units should combine the emulation of Lei Feng with the emulation of "Guards of the Republic." The heroic deeds of the "Guards of the Republic" who met their death like heroes reflected in a concentrated way the devotion of the People's Army to the party and people, the patriotic traditions of the Chinese nation, as well as our Army's contemporary spirit of selfless dedication. Like Lei Feng, they are examples for us to learn from. We must make an earnest effort to learn from these heroic models, bring fully into play their exemplary role as advanced models, strive to create a situation where heroes can rise with force and spirit, and launch activities of emulating Lei Feng in a penetrating and sustained manner.

At present, a new upsurge of activities of emulating Lei Feng has started in the various units of the Army and is developing in depth. Nationwide activities of emulating Lei Feng have also gained momentum. We are convinced

that the Lei Feng spirit, which shines with the radiance of communism and represents advanced ideas, will strike root, bloom, and bear fruit on the land of socialist China, develop among the people in the hundreds of millions, and become an enormous and inexhaustible spiritual force that will promote the development of socialist revolution and construction.

On Several Views That Negate Distribution According to Work

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[Text] Distribution according to work, which is a basic feature of the socialist economic system, has special importance in theory as well as in practice. The corrosive influence of bourgeois liberalization, which spread unchecked for some time, has also affected the theory of distribution according to work. While voicing their objection to public ownership, the proponents of privatization opposed the socialist principle of distribution according to work almost without exception. There is logic in this because public ownership and distribution according to work are inseparable. The former is the premise and foundation of the latter, while the latter is the realization and embodiment of the former. Anyone who upholds public ownership will also uphold distribution according to work, and anyone who opposes public ownership will also oppose distribution according to work and demand that there be a mode of distribution that conforms to private ownership. In discussions of economic theories, some comrades have raised doubts about distribution according to work, although they have not called for the downright abolition of public ownership. It is thus necessary to clarify what is right and what is wrong on the question of distribution according to work.

1. Is Distribution According to Work a Fantasy?

Some people are fundamentally opposed to the Marxist theory of distribution according to work. They denounce it as a "fantasy." For instance, they have said, "as a general principle of social distribution, distribution according to work has failed in practice not because it has any moral drawbacks, but because it is divorced from the reality of modern economics and has become something of a fantasy." What reality of modern economics has it divorced itself from? Two points have been raised: The first point is that when Marx put forward the theory of distribution according to work, he did not foresee that commodity-money relations would continue to exist in a socialist society, and commodity-money relations and distribution according to work cannot coexist. The second point is that distribution according to work takes labor as the yardstick of distribution, but it is impossible to measure the innumerable types of labor of different natures. In addition to factors of living labor, labor

products also include factors of materialized labor, and the two cannot be separated.

These arguments cannot hold water. First, let us take a look at the relations between distribution according to work and the commodity economy. Marx envisaged that in a society of public ownership after the elimination of the capitalist system, commodity-money relations will have disappeared, people's labor will no longer be expressed in terms of value in a roundabout way, and the exchange of labor will no longer take the form of commodity exchange. The practice of socialism has gone beyond what was anticipated in the theory of the disappearance of commodities. However, the disappearance of the commodity economy is not the premise on which the Marxist theory of scientific socialism expounds and proves distribution according to work. In other words, whether or not distribution according to work is tenable is not determined by the presence or otherwise of commodity-money relations. We know for a fact that it was on the premise of the public ownership of the means of production that Marx expounded and proved distribution according to work. In a public-owned economy, people are equal in their ownership of the means of production, and no one can squeeze other people's labor without compensation through ownership of the means of production as exploiters did in the past. In the socialist stage, however, social productivity has not yet developed to an extent where it can produce goods in such great abundance as to be able to fully satisfy the needs of all members of society. People have not yet shaken off the old trammels of division of labor in society, and laborers are not yet in a position to disregard labor remuneration. These determine that the only mode of distribution that can promote the development of productivity is distribution according to work, which takes labor as the yardstick in the distribution of consumer goods.

Does this mean that the commodity economy and distribution according to work have nothing to do with each other? Of course not. The presence of the commodity economy has brought about changes, changes never anticipated by Marx, in the economic environment and conditions for the realization of distribution according to work. This gives new characteristics to the realization of distribution according to work. For example, under the conditions of the commodity economy, the realization of distribution according to work needs the commodity-money form, not the labor certificate form as originally envisaged by Marx. The latter is a certificate that certifies the amount of labor performed by a laborer and which entitles him to receive a given amount of consumer goods directly from society. For a further example, under the conditions of the commodity economy, distribution according to work is realized on the basis of homogeneous standards within an enterprise—the actual primary unit that organizes commodity production and exchange. It is different from the principle originally envisaged by Marx, in which an equal amount of work is exchanged for an equal amount of

products on the basis of uniform standards throughout society. Furthermore, due to the presence of the commodity economy, the actual level of labor remuneration for laborers will be affected by the prices of commodities, supply and demand, and other market mechanisms. All this shows that the presence of the commodity economy has not abolished or eliminated distribution according to work, and indeed cannot do so. Rather, it has only changed the conditions and form in which distribution according to work is realized and has given it new characteristics.

The measurement of labor is indeed a very complicated issue. Seen from a purely technical angle, the development of science and technology has not yet come out with an accurate means of measuring and comparing the innumerable types of labor. But can we thus negate distribution according to work? Of course not. It was on the basis of their analysis of social and economic conditions that the founders of scientific socialism put forward distribution according to work as an objective law of social distribution. The objective inevitability of distribution according to work is manifested in the fact that when social and economic activities conform with its requirements, the enthusiasm of the masses for labor soars and production develops smoothly, when these activities do not conform to its requirements, the enthusiasm of the masses for labor is dampened, and production is held back or sabotaged. Distribution according to work is not a mathematical formula. It is pointless, indeed unnecessary, to accurately measure each person's labor. Actually, this is not only the case with distribution according to work, but is also more or less true of other social and economic laws. The law of value that we all know so well, that is, the law that says that commodity value is determined by the socially necessary labor-time for the production of commodities, also involves the question of the "amount" of socially necessary labor-time. This "amount" is not something that can be accurately measured using a particular method of computation, but this does not stop it from existing and functioning as an objective inevitability. People also feel its presence and role through their immediate interests in the actual practice of commodity production and exchange. The same is true of other laws of social distribution under the capitalist system, such as the law of the value of labor power and the law of average profit rate. Their requirements are not met by reliance on accurate computation, and they cannot be computed with absolute accuracy. Nonetheless, they can still play their role in economic activities objectively and independent of man's will.

Although labor cannot be computed with absolute accuracy, it does not mean that it cannot be compared and computed in relative and approximate terms. Piece wages, for instance, are measured by the quantity of products or amount of work of a given quality performed by a laborer. It does rather well in reflecting the requirement of distribution according to work and the idea of more pay for more work and less pay for less work.

Unlike piece wages, time wages fix the pay scale of laborers in accordance with differences between complex labor and simple labor and between skilled and unskilled labor. Remuneration is paid in accordance with labor time. This is supplemented by bonus and other forms of reward to pay for the above-quota labor performed by the laborer. This too can more or less reflect labor differences and realize distribution according to work.

The question of the separation between materialized labor and living labor in labor products has already been resolved on the theoretical level by the Marxist theory of labor value. Labor, which is contained in all means of production, is the congelation of the previous labor of laborers. In the new process of production, it can only transfer its value either in one go or step by step into the newly produced product. Its own value will not be increased in any way. In actual economic accounting, the two are also separated accordingly (of course the separation is only an approximate one).

2. What Is Wrong With "Distribution According to Production Factors"

Another view against distribution according to work is that distribution should be carried out in accordance with production factors. The theoretical basis of this view is the "theory of value as a joint creation," which says that, since value is jointly created by labor and production factors like funds, equipment, and land, distribution should be carried out in accordance with the contributions of various production factors. This view maintains that the socialist principle of distribution should be distribution according to production factors, not distribution according to work, or distribution according to work should form only part of distribution according to production factors.

This kind of view is wrong in the following ways:

First, it confuses the production of use value with the creation of value. We understand that commodity production is the combination of the process of the production of use value and the process of the creation of value, but that the two are different in form and content. Seen from the process of the production of use value, the objects of labor are processed and transformed by people through concrete labor using the means of labor. The result is the production of a certain new use value. Hence, the process of the production of use value involves man's living labor and various types of material production factors, including raw materials, machines and equipment that have gone through processing, as well as natural resources that have not gone through processing, such as land, minerals, and naturally grown timber. Seen from the process of the creation of commodity value, the situation is entirely different. The creation of value is the congelation of man's living labor. In other words, regardless of the concrete form of labor, commodity value is still the congelation of the abstract labor of man's physical and mental efforts. Value does not include any atom of use value. Use values exist only

as the material deposit (or material carrier) of value, they themselves cannot form value, still less create new value. This has been thoroughly and scientifically proven by Marxist economics. The so-called theory of value as a joint creation fundamentally undermines and opposes the Marxist theory of labor value by confusing the process of the production of use value with the process of the creation of value. It tries to pass off use value for value. The proponents of this theory often quoted William Petty, who said that "land is the mother of wealth, and labor is the father," in support of their argument. The fact is, this statement cannot help them in the slightest way. Marx quoted and affirmed this statement and said something to this effect himself, expressing the idea even more clearly. In *Critique of the Gotha Program*, Marx noted at the outset that "labor is not the source of all wealth. Nature, like labor, is also the source of use value (and material wealth itself is constituted by use value in the first place)." (Marx: *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 3, p. 5) This view is obviously seen from the angle of use value. It leaves no opening to ideas or propositions that oppose the theory that sees labor as the only source of value.

Second, it confuses the production of value with the distribution and redistribution of value. We understand that value is created by the labor of laborers. However, after it has been formed, value will be broken down into various types of incomes, such as wages, tax revenue, profits, interests and rent, through distribution and redistribution. The possession of profits, interest, rent, and so on, is determined, in the final analysis, by the form and nature of the ownership of the means of production. The outcome of this kind of distribution and redistribution may give people the false impression that laborers receive wages, capitalists receive profits and interest, and land owners receive rent, because they have each furnished their share of production factors for the joint creation of value. People who advocated distribution according to production factors confused and confounded the production of value with the distribution and redistribution of value, and they derived the source of value from the outcome of the distribution and redistribution of value. It is quite obvious that this idea goes against logic. This is just as ridiculous as drawing the deduction from taxes and levies—the product of state participation in distribution and redistribution—that organs of state power also create value. It is perhaps apt to point out in passing that this kind of theory and logic is nothing new. Anyone who has a little knowledge of the history of development of economic theories knows that Jean B. Say, the originator of bourgeois vulgar economics in the late 18th and early 19th century, put forward the so-called "three-in-one" formula of "labor/wages, capital/profits, and land/rent." What this means is that labor, capital, and land jointly create income and share income. Marx severely criticized the absurdity of Say's "three-in-one" formula at a very early stage. The ideas of value as a joint creation, the sharing

of value, and distribution according to production factors put forward by some people today are not much different from the "three-in-one" formula and are no better than Say's formula.

Third, it confuses the natures of different forms of distribution. There are diverse forms of ownership in China at the present stage. Hence, we also have diverse forms of distribution. When ownership has a different form and nature, distribution will also have a different form and nature. However, some people do not see things this way. Wittingly or unwittingly, they lump together things of a different nature and pin the socialist tag on all of them. This is the case with the theories of value as a joint creation, the sharing of value, and distribution according to production factors. They mix up distribution according to work with distribution according to capital and other forms of distribution, obliterating the differences in their nature. As we know, distribution according to work is a socialist form of distribution determined by public ownership. It is the negation of the system of exploitation. Profits, interests, and rent are the results of the distribution and redistribution of the value created by laborers. When these are possessed by the individuals owning the means of production, it means that the value created by laborers is given to them gratis. How can the capitalist principle of distribution, which advocates rewarding equal capital with equal profit, be confounded with the socialist principle of distribution, which advocates rewarding equal labor with equal products? It is true that capitalist enterprises are permitted in our country at the present stage and that the state protects all legitimate business income, but legitimate income does not mean labor income of a socialist nature.

3. What Is the Essence of Distribution According to the Value of Labor Power?

There is yet another theory that negates distribution according to labor. This theory advocates distribution according to the value of labor power. The proponents of this theory maintain that, since labor power is still a commodity and wages are the converted form of the value of labor power in the socialist economy, what is practiced in this economy is distribution according to the value of labor power rather than distribution according to work. Put another way, the "work" in distribution according to work refers to the value of labor power, and distribution according to work is the same as distribution according to the value of labor power.

First, those who maintain that in the socialist economy labor power is a commodity and distribution should be based on the value of labor power are often unwilling to make a thorough analysis of economic relations under the system of socialist public ownership. Either wittingly or unwittingly, they tend to regard laborers as mere production factors, obliterating the most fundamental economic relationship, which provides that socialist laborers are also masters of the means of production, and

mechanically applying a capitalist economic category to the socialist economy. In so doing, they have totally distorted the economic relations of socialism.

Second, the premise of the idea that labor power is a commodity and that distribution should be based on the value of labor power is the personal ownership of labor power, but it is meaningless to talk about the personal ownership of labor power in abstract terms without reference to specific historical and economic conditions. We understand that ownership means production relations established through man's possession of external production conditions. In other words, it refers to human relations of production formed through man's relations with matter. Man is the subject of ownership, while the external matter is the object owned. Ownership ceases to exist without the subject, namely man, or the object, namely the matter owned. Labor power is the productive capacity of man, the sum of man's physical and mental labor. It is held in store in the human body and cannot be separated and externalized as the object owned by the person himself. Thus, generally speaking, there is no such thing as the personal ownership of labor power. People will not, and indeed, need not regard the labor power that is within them as something to be possessed, just as they do not regard their eyes, ears, nose, tongue, and other organs, along with their functions, as something to be possessed. It is under special historical conditions that labor power becomes a commodity and laborers have to sell their labor power as a commodity they possess. When laborers who have personal freedom have lost the means of production and have nothing to their name, they have to survive by selling their own labor power. It was in such a special historical stage of historical development—the capitalist society—that the special historical phenomena of the personal ownership of labor power and the treatment of labor power as a commodity occurred. The socialist system of public ownership negates the historical conditions under which labor power is treated as a commodity. In a situation in which laborers are the masters of the means of production and production activities, labor power as a commodity, together with its premise—the personal ownership of labor power—have lost the basis on which they exist. Under such circumstances, there is no social significance except in physiological terms in talking about the personal ownership of labor power.

Furthermore, distribution according to the value of labor power and distribution according to work are not only different in terms of their social nature, their content and the law of their movement and changes are also different. In distribution according to work, the laborer participates in labor and distribution as the co-owner of the means of production, whereas in distribution according to the value of labor power, the laborer who does not own the means of production has to make a living by selling his labor power as a commodity. The difference between the two in terms of social nature is thus obvious. In terms of content, in distribution according to the

value of labor power, wages are determined by the value of labor power—they are constituted by the cost of the production and reproduction of labor power. In other words, regardless of their level, wages are determined by the cost of the production and reproduction of labor power under given conditions. In distribution according to work, laborers are allocated consumer goods for personal use in accordance with the amount and quality of labor furnished by them after socially necessary deductions (such as compensatory funds for maintaining simple reproduction, accumulation funds for enlarging reproduction, and social consumption funds for satisfying the common needs of society) have been made from the total social product. It must guarantee the needs for the production and reproduction of labor power, but it is not restricted to the cost of the production and reproduction of labor power. The level of wages is determined by the level of labor productivity and the degree of affluence of the social product. In terms of the law of movement and changes, when labor power is a commodity, the movement and changes of wages, which represent the price of labor power as a commodity, are subject to supply, demand, and competition in the labor power market. Distribution according to work is something else. On the whole, its movement and changes are not subject to the supply of and demand for labor power. Instead, they move up gradually as production develops. Under the present circumstances, when the level of our economic development is well below that of the developed capitalist countries and the wage level of these countries is way above ours, these differences are not manifest. If we compare our wages with those in countries with the same level of economic development, we can see the distinction.

Lastly, it should be pointed out that the theory that labor power is a commodity and distribution should be based on the value of labor power is harmful to the practice of socialism, and is counterproductive to the correct understanding and handling of the relationship between the state and enterprises on the one hand and laborers on the other. This kind of theory essentially downgrades laborers from the position of being masters of society and enterprises to that of being hired laborers, thereby fundamentally dampening the enthusiasm of the laboring masses and distorting the relations of laborers to enterprises and the state.

To Unify Understanding About and Sum Up and Popularize New Experiences of Town and Township Enterprises

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[Article by Chen Yaobang (7115 5069 6721), Ministry of Agriculture]

[Text]

I

After the work of rectification and consolidation began, some comrades felt puzzled: Is China's development direction of town and township enterprises correct? If we

cannot proceed from the high plane of integrating theory with facts and cannot make a definite answer to this question, we shall shake the confidence of some town and township enterprises in overcoming difficulties and putting an end to their predicaments, shall adversely affect their determination, and shall undermine our future work of rectification and consolidation among them, as well as the pace of moving toward the stage of stable and healthy development.

We hold that facts have fully indicated that to develop town and township enterprises is the only way for China to modernize agriculture and develop a thriving rural economy. Basically, China is a populous developing country with limited arable land. One of the reasons that China's economy is not a developed one is because of its 1.1 billion population, of which 870 million are living in rural areas. Because a large quantity of surplus manpower in the rural areas cannot be released, labor productivity drops, and so does per capita GNP. At present, the number of rural laborers among China's 537 million social laborers is 397 million, or 73.9 percent. Based on the strength of such labor force, the arable land of the rural areas is only 3.7 mu on average. Such a limited arable land cannot help most of the peasants to become rich by growing grain, cotton, oil-bearing crops, and sugar crops, except for others who grow particular types of cash crops. Neither is it possible for them to gain enough profit which they can use to invest in modern agricultural technology and equipment. Therefore, in order to achieve the goals of increasing China's per capita GNP to \$800 to \$1,000 by the end of this century, of improving the people's living standard to a comparatively well-off level, and of realizing the four modernizations, we must solve problems concerning the transfer of rural surplus labor, which has become an important task for us. The development of town and township enterprises is just an innovative and specific way for transferring such surplus labor, invigorating the rural economy, and promoting the modernization of agriculture under the socialist system.

Town and township enterprises were developed on the basis of agriculture. Most of their initial industries were agricultural and sideline processing industries. They have currently adopted the system of industrial and agricultural labor. In the wake of improvement in its labor productivity, agriculture will provide more laborers to these enterprises. This is a pressure as well as the condition for development. Judging from this viewpoint, there will be no town and township enterprises without development of agriculture. On the other hand, the development of town and township enterprises has also sharply promoted the development of agriculture. By 1989, these town and township enterprises had absorbed 92 million surplus laborers in the rural areas. The proportion of their gross production value to that of the rural society was increased from 31 percent in 1978 to 60 percent, thereby occupying a dominant position in the rural economy. Over the past decade, the amount of investment made by these enterprises in the construction

of various undertakings totaled 68.4 billion yuan, including a direct investment of 16.28 billion yuan in agriculture, an equivalent of 34 percent of the state's investment in agriculture for the same period. It was just because of this development that the collective economy saw a rapid growth, and that it was possible for us to organize a complete range of services for the household production business. Thus, we perfected the responsibility system of households with payment linked to output and the dual-track administrative structure, and we popularized science and technology and boosted agricultural output. It was just because of the development of town and township enterprises that some economically developed areas and suburban areas could find the solution to their surplus agricultural labor, and that at the same time, they could use a large portion of profits made by these enterprises to invest in the capital construction of agriculture, machinery, and other modern equipment. This helped promote the adoption of the scale of economics in cultivation, and helped agriculture take the road of modernized mass production. At the same time, the income of peasants was increased in the wake of development of town and township enterprises. Over these 10 years, the amount of wages and profits paid by town and township enterprises to their peasant staff totaled 383.3 billion yuan, or 25 percent of the peasants' net income. In recent years, over 50 percent of the peasants' net income was from the town and township enterprises. The development of these enterprises further promoted the construction of small towns and townships, supported the cultural and education undertakings in the rural areas, improved the level of scientific knowledge and education background among peasants, and cultivated a generation of modern peasants who have a strong sense about the commodity economy.

The development of town and township enterprises is also China's only way to achieve its modernization of industries. Ours is a socialist country. Unlike some Western countries, China cannot achieve its industrialization by making peasants go bankrupt and by looting from foreign sources. Besides, because of its limited financial resources, it is impossible for us to realize industrialization by simply depending on state investment. The most important point for tackling such major socioeconomic problems is to mobilize the initiative and creativeness of the hundreds of millions of peasants, and to rely on them to develop agriculture in an extensive and in-depth manner. While we safeguard the development of agriculture, we should greatly develop town and township enterprises, and encourage everyone to take up their jobs without moving into the cities. Furthermore, from a national viewpoint, a rational composition of industrial enterprises should be a combination of large, medium-sized and small ones. In the economic development of the contemporary world, small enterprises are not only a type of supplemental economy, but are as important as major industries, as well as a pattern and economic factor for simultaneous development and interdependence. The complementary functions between

these enterprises and the urban industries in China have fully proved that developing an urban-rural combination, industry-agriculture combination, and industry-trade combination are ways to achieve industrialization with Chinese characteristics. Town and township enterprises have not only provided a large variety of commodities for the state, but have also increased the effective supply of society, helped peasants get rich, and delivered a large amount of taxes and foreign exchange to the state. In 1989, taxes collected by the state from these enterprises totaled 36 billion yuan, together with \$10 billion in foreign exchange, which accounted for a rather high proportion of the state's tax and foreign exchange revenues. This recent increase in the proportion of taxes and foreign exchange from these enterprises in the state's tax and foreign exchange revenues has powerfully helped China make progress in industrialization.

Therefore, the development of town and township enterprises is inevitable in China's development of history, and is in line with national conditions. Proceeding from a practical point of view, we must first maintain stability in the lives of the 800 million-odd rural population, in order to maintain a stable development of China's socialist construction in a turbulent international environment. Therefore, in the course of rectification and consolidation, we must pay attention to the principle of "giving active support, rational planning, correct guidance, and strengthened management," and the principle of "readjustment, consolidation, transformation, and improvement" when dealing with town and township enterprises. We should act in accordance with the state's policies toward industries, and actively support and guide these enterprises to develop in a healthy manner.

II

Town and township enterprises are now facing unprecedentedly difficult problems. All cadres and staff have taken the overall situation into consideration. They were bold in handling the state's problems, continued to make more contributions for the state, joined efforts with the state-run enterprises to overcome difficulties, and have basically put the situation under control. We should fully confirm such achievements.

It was reflected by various localities that the following issues must be further clarified. They are mainly:

1. We should correctly understand the relations between rectification and consolidation on the one hand, and development of town and township enterprises on the other. The basic goals of rectification and consolidation are to create a good environment and order for China's economic development and, at the same time, to create good conditions for town and township enterprises to improve and further develop themselves. These two goals are complementary, not conflicting. The work of rectification and consolidation was put forward in light of the problems in the national economy. It was not used as a means to jeopardize the development of town and township enterprises. As an important component of the

national economy, however, town and township enterprises must also be subject to rectification and consolidation. Only thus can their development be coordinated with that of the national economy. At the same time, we should be sober-minded and realize that the composition of industries was irrational in the course of their development. While some enterprises make poor-quality goods, many others have poor management skills or weak technical forces, so that their economic results are poor. Only by means of planned and systematic readjustment, consolidation, transformation, and improvement can they develop in a healthy manner. Therefore, the work of rectification and consolidation as well as the "eight-character principle" are the requirements put forward by the party and state before these enterprises, and the necessary conditions for these enterprises to develop and improve themselves. In view of the principal trend of thinking at present, we must strive to accomplish the "five overcomes." In other words, we must overcome the thinking of getting rich as quickly as possible, and establish that of maintaining a long-term, continuous, stable, and coordinated development. We must overcome our feeling of uneasiness that we shall make mistakes and that policies will be changed, and must establish an unswerving thought of doing well in the rectification and consolidation, and have confidence in the in-depth development of reforms. We must overcome the thinking of "lying low until something blows over, and waiting for a chance," and establish the determination to do well in rectification and consolidation. We must overcome our pessimistic attitudes and being afraid of difficulties and doing nothing, and establish the spirit of jointly tiding over difficulties. We must overcome the tendency to emphasize economic work at the expense of ideological and political work, and establish the thinking of simultaneously grasping these aspects of our civilization. At the same time, we must pay special attention to drawing a clear line between policies and laws, and reiterate that there is no change in relevant policies of the party and the government concerning the development of town and township enterprises.

Following the commencement of the work of rectification and consolidation, the development of town and township enterprises have become a hot topic. Opinions that "the development of town and township enterprises adversely affects that of agriculture," "town and township enterprises are the source of corruption," "the work of rectification and consolidation means a crackdown on town and township enterprises," and so forth are some of them. Therefore, we must take a correct attitude. On the one hand, we must publicize more the strategic position and functions of town and township enterprises, and help the public change their attitude into the one that confirms the mainstay role of town and township enterprises. In addition, we should constantly exchange opinions with comrades of relevant departments. We should make joint investigations with them, make them understand and support the development of town and township enterprises, and help them eliminate certain aspects of the current misunderstanding and prejudice, and hold

a fair and objective attitude toward town and township enterprises. On the other, we must take a correct attitude toward the deficiencies and shortcomings of town and township enterprises, take criticism of various social sectors as supervision of our work, and actively solve existing problems. In areas where town and township enterprises are well developed, we must run them well by making use of their advantages in terms of technology, capital, and collective enterprises. We must resolutely take measures to abolish town and township enterprises that waste energy resources and raw materials, utilize more capital than is necessary, yield poor economic results, and produce unmarketable products. We should "close, merge, suspend, and change" the production of some enterprises. We must consolidate and improve certain large-scale key enterprises that consume fewer energy resources but make marketable goods and yield good economic results. In particular, we must actively support those that utilize local resources such as raw materials and agricultural and sideline products to manufacture goods that are in short supply, consume fewer energy resources, and yield quick returns. We must also actively support export-oriented enterprises that manufacture internationally competitive products, so that they will have continuous growth. In other words, we must take the opportunity of rectification and consolidation to really enhance the overall quality and general level of town and township enterprises.

2. We should profoundly understand the relationship between a steady development of town and township enterprises and the stability of the overall situation. Under the present circumstances, maintaining stability is the principal task. It is also the primary interest of people across the country. In order to encourage stability in the state, we must have stability in the rural areas, in agriculture, and among peasants. As early as 1984, Comrade Deng Xiaoping profoundly pointed out that, considering the actual conditions of China, whether or not China is stable is based primarily on the status of the 80 percent of China's population that lives in the rural areas. In order to maintain stability in the rural areas, in agriculture, and among peasants, we must have stable town and township enterprises. This is because the rural areas in today's China will become unstable without industry, still less agriculture. At present, the gross output value of town and township enterprises accounts for 60 percent of the gross output value of the rural society, or one-quarter of the gross output value of China's society. The gross industrial output value of these enterprises accounts for 30 percent of the national industrial output value. The number of staff employed by them accounts for 24 percent of all rural labor. What a great impact it would have on the rural economy and on the whole national economy if we clamp down on these enterprises! Of course, when we study measures for maintaining a stable development of town and township enterprises, we must proceed from the overall situation

and mobilize the staff of all town and township enterprises to make better contributions to the work of maintaining stability in China's politics, economy, and society.

3. We should correctly understand the important functions of town and township enterprises in the process of consolidating and developing socialist public ownership. Of the current gross output value of town and township enterprises, rural collective enterprises account for 24 percent, enterprises jointly run by households account for nine percent, and enterprises run by individuals account for 24 percent. This fully indicates that the major component of the town and township enterprises is collective enterprises. They are an important economic force in the socialist public economy. This is particularly true in the rural areas, where rural enterprises have become a major pattern of regional economy owned by collectives. Their development is favorable to minimizing the "three major differences" and consolidating the industry-agriculture alliance. Also, enterprises run jointly by households have formed a cooperative economy of a socialist nature, a new type of collective economy in which individuals contribute their own labor. This is particularly true for cooperative stock enterprises jointly run by peasants. We must actively affirm and encourage the enthusiasm of peasants in developing such kinds of socialist public ownership. According to state policy, we must protect the individual economy and private enterprises, which are regarded as the complement of the socialist public ownership, provided that they operate in a lawful manner. Otherwise, their operations will be checked and halted. In connection with this, we must boldly give guidance and offer services in various areas.

4. We should correctly understand the mechanism of flexibility among town and township enterprises. The mechanism of flexibility that we have just mentioned is a mechanism of driving force, pressure, and vitality marked by self-accumulation, self-development, independent operations, the practice of solely responsible for profits and losses, and self-control. It was formed in the course of developing China's planned commodity economy. This mechanism was created by the peasants in their practice of commodity production. To fully utilize the functions of this mechanism is the key to overcoming difficulties by enterprises. We must rectify these and problems in the operations of town and township enterprises, by relying on the comprehensive policies and measures adopted by the state. Besides, town and township enterprises must earnestly observe discipline and law and strive to overcome their deficiencies. However, one must make it clear that these problems and deficiencies have nothing to do with the mechanism of flexibility among these enterprises. Under no circumstances must we stop upholding our practice just because some comrades misunderstood the mechanism of these enterprises. For some time to come, we shall continue to further rely on and constantly perfect this mechanism of flexibility in order to overcome difficulties and invigorate the operations of enterprises.

III

In 1989 when the price of energy resources and raw materials soared, the market was sluggish, and it was difficult to locate capital, the state strengthened macroeconomic control and adopted policies of giving preferential treatment to key state-run enterprises. However, town and township enterprises saw a steady development and achieved a steady growth in both output value and economic results that year. Many comrades were puzzled by this. By objectively summing up their valuable experience, not only will we help these comrades solve their puzzle, but we will also guide enterprises to develop in a continuous, steady, and coordinated way, which is more important. Seen from the macroeconomic viewpoint, their general experience is that the CPC Central Committee, the State Council, and all local party and government leaderships showed that they cared about and paid attention to these enterprises, so that the consistency and stability of policies concerning town and township enterprises were maintained. They continued to develop the strong points of the mechanism. They invigorated their operations by active readjustment, optimal composition of industry, strengthened administration, and so on. Judging from their point of view, town and township enterprises should earnestly study the following points.

1. They should build a core team that shares the same destiny as the enterprises. Town and township enterprises develop themselves in the course of struggle for survival in an environment of difficulties. Such an environment has bred a number of entrepreneurs who have become the leaders of a population of some 100 million nonpeasants in the rural areas. They possess, at a high plane, the awareness of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. Many of them are outstanding party members who clearly understand China's difficulties in the process of the "four modernizations." They have a strong sense of responsibility and strive to progress despite difficulties. They are good at making use of favorable conditions to compensate for the unfavorable ones and making use of new opportunities to overcome problems. It was just because of them that, under party leadership, they unified and directed tens of thousands of workers to establish a strong sense of "rising and falling together with the factory." Thus, a core team was formed. This is the most important guarantee of enterprises for overcoming their problems and realizing their survival and development. When leaders and workers of an enterprise are unified and share the same destiny as their enterprises, they tend to understand and support each other, which is a powerful force for overcoming all difficulties.

2. They should size up the situation and contend for the initiative. Many enterprises paid attention to understanding and studying the state's macroeconomic policies and the situation of the market. They promptly and conscientiously readjusted their development trend and the composition of their products, so that their operations conformed to the state's policies toward industries.

and met demands of both the domestic and overseas markets. This is an important strategy of the enterprises to take initiative in order to solve problems. For instance, many enterprises in Wuhan City, Hubei, replaced their production of a single product with a series of products. They improved their production of well-known, quality, native, and export products to generate more foreign exchange. Facing the ever-changing market, cosmetics factories in Yangzhou, Jiangsu, insisted on and succeeded in increasing the supply of marketable goods, as well as diversifying their production of unique and innovative goods, in order to meet the changing market demand. It is just as the saying goes, "a small boat may change its course quickly." For many enterprises, this is a valuable tool for overcoming difficulties. Inevitably, market competition has left gaps in which small enterprises find their means of survival. Town and township enterprises in many localities paid attention to picking up businesses overlooked by others, and have been producing goods that are in short supply. Under the circumstances in which the market is sluggish, many small enterprises quickly strengthened their share of the market by offering small products and quickly changing production.

3. They should improve their product quality with the help of new products developed with science and technology. Under the circumstances where the outward expansion of reproduction is limited by the shortage of funds, many enterprises placed their focus on technological advancement. In order to develop new products, they tried every means to gain access to information about science and technology, and to import technology, new processes, and technological achievements. This is a shortcut for making quick returns with little investment. The experiences of many enterprises show that a sluggish market does not mean that the sales of all commodities are sluggish. Some of them still sold well. This requires that when an enterprise accesses information about the domestic and overseas markets, it should constantly make improvements and innovations, and open the market with their new products. They should adopt the "main rhythm" as their practice of operation, in which they have some products in stock, while developing and selling some others. An acrylic fiber textile mill in Yangshe Town of Zhangjiagang City, Jiangsu Province, collected from overseas several dozen samples of fashionable clothing when its sales of wool fabric goods dropped. It organized its technical personnel to work day and night to develop new designs, so that an average of two to three kinds of new products were introduced to the market every month. As they had developed many new products, their customers had more choices and since then it has maintained on the market at least three kinds of new products that are popular.

4. They should constantly improve their quality by improving their internal structure. Many enterprises understand that whether their commodities can win in the competition is determined by their quality. However, the quality of enterprises is determined by the quality of

their personnel. Therefore, many enterprises take the work of improving the quality of their personnel as their basic work for overcoming the difficulties. For instance, Shangyu Pneumatic Drilling Plant in Zhejiang invested more than 800,000 yuan in its training program for 300-odd staff. At present, the number of staff who have received such training accounts for more than 70 percent of the plant's total staff. As the plant made continuous and steady growth in recent years, it was praised as one of the state's 1988 second-class enterprises.

5. They should find reliable support. In order to meet the ever-increasing keen competition, many town and township enterprises take initiative and maintain contacts with large enterprises in urban areas, scientific research and technology departments, and foreign trade departments. In the development of lateral economic links, they are satisfied to play a supporting role, and let their partners to come to fame and get a larger share of profits and rights. It means that these enterprises enter into joint ventures with such large and medium-sized enterprises in urban areas to manufacture products under the latter's trademarks. Also, even though the town and township enterprises may be in an unfavorable position for the time being, they aim at winning such urban enterprises' support for their long-term development. In some cases, the town and township enterprises also recruit when necessary an outsider to assume the office of factory manager in order to improve their management skills. They have made achievements in this respect. In 1989, some 1,000 town and township enterprises in Tianjin City had their operations closed, halted, merged, and changed. However, those that entered into joint ventures with industrial and scientific research units in urban areas saw steady growth. Furthermore, none of the 1,446 joint ventures in Shanghai Municipality had their operations closed or halted. On the contrary, they saw new development and experienced an average growth rate of about 20 percent in their output value and delivery of taxes and profits.

6. They should increase their revenue and reduce their expenditures by tapping internal potential. For instance, Tangqiao Town in Jiangsu Province summarized into 10 points its experience in the work of increasing revenue and reducing expenditures: a) develop marketable products, so as to tap potential by readjusting the composition of products; b) reduce the consumption of raw materials, so as to tap potential by reducing production costs; c) strengthen management, so as to tap potential by plugging loopholes; d) remind debtors on repayment and collect receivable loans, so as to tap potential by making better use of the funds; e) impose strict controls on expenditures, so as to tap potential at the targeted cost; f) purchase materials on the basis of selection of the best qualified at the most reasonable price, so as to tap potential by cutting the cost of raw materials; g) develop additional trades while maintaining the main business, so as to tap potential by making full use of the equipment; h) pay attention to technological reforms at minor points, so as to tap potential by improving technological

processes; i) develop new and better products, so as to tap potential by increasing the added value of products; and j) mobilize the initiative of the staff at various levels, so as to tap potential by improving labor productivity.

7. They should continuously enhance their capability for self-improvement. Though there was a shortage of working capital last year, some town and township enterprises maintained normal production and operations. This is because, on the one hand, many enterprises have constantly expanded their accumulation of circulation funds in recent years, so that they made few or no loans and were not affected by the banks' withdrawal of money from circulation. On the other hand, they used all means to avoid having their funds lie idle. For instance, some enterprises in Ningxian County, Gansu, summed up their experience into eight practices: "to make use of idle money by investing in stock; to spend private money for public use by postponing the distribution of wages; to raise funds from others by running lateral economic combines; to recover capital by clearing the inventory; to speed up the cycle of circulation by using more cash; to save money for large projects by increasing revenue and cutting expenses; to utilize idle money by collecting loans granted to others; and to save expenditure by using money for multiple purposes."

Furthermore, many enterprises have upheld in their operations the principle that "customers come first," as they offered sincere services to customers. Also, they were much concerned about their reputation, so that they stressed developing new varieties, maintaining quality control, delivering goods on time, and giving assistance to customers. As they did well in serving major clients while offering sincere services to minor ones, they succeeded in winning over their customers with their aftersales services. This is a way to create a favorable external environment for themselves.

The aforementioned points are the summary of experiences of some outstanding enterprises, from which we should draw a lesson. Of course, many other localities have their own good examples, and are continuously having their new ones. We must attach great importance to them and should popularize them upon summing them up.

Can Capitalism Itself Give Rise to the Socialist Factor?—On a Viewpoint of 'Social Capitalism'

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[Text] Several years ago, some people put forward that after World War II the development of capitalism entered a new stage at which "the degree of socialization was higher, and there was a gradual rise of socialist factors and a transition toward socialism." In other words, it was the so-called "stage of social capitalism."

In my opinion, it is untenable to generalize about contemporary capitalism on the basis that "the degree of socialization was higher." Nevertheless, I am not going to engage in endless quibbling with supporters of "social capitalism" on this concept. Instead, I shall emphasize revealing the absurdity of the view that so-called "social capitalism" was "a gradual rise of socialist factors and a transition toward socialism."

What were the socialist factors in it after it, in their perception, entered the stage of "social capitalism"? They were state ownership, ownership by civil groups, development of stock companies, participation in the management by workers, macro-regulation of the socio-economy by the state, national income redistribution by the government and development of the social welfare system, and so forth.

1. Is it true that "capitalist state ownership embodies certain factors of the socialist ownership by the whole people"? To take capitalist state ownership as a form of socialism is only a repetition of the viewpoints proposed by certain Western scholars. U.S. economist Hanson said "the ownership and sales of the means of production by the government" was "a classic definition of socialism." When bourgeois scholars regarded bourgeois countries as representatives of the supraclass interests of the whole people, they naturally came to the conclusion that state ownership was a form of socialism. Proceeding from the viewpoint of Marxism, a state "is, as a rule, the country of the class that is the most powerful and that economically occupies a dominant position in that country. This class, with the help of the state, also occupies the dominant position in terms of politics."¹ In a class society, a state has always been represented by the exploiting class and has been a tool by which the exploiting class suppresses and exploits the exploited class. Slave-owning countries, feudal countries, and capitalist countries are some examples. Likewise, state ownership in a class society is also a form of ownership by the minority exploiting class. It can only be an economic system under which the minority exploiting class exploits the majority exploited people. In a capitalist society, the state is represented by bourgeois or leading capitalists, and its means of production are owned and run by them. There is no change in the capitalist nature of production means, or in the exploitation of labor by capitalists. Thus, how can there be socialist factors? Under the modern capitalist system, those state enterprises are simply a tool for maintaining the monopoly of bourgeois policies. Some state enterprises exclude private business from operating and monopolize the supply of commodities and labor services at a low price. Though their profits, if any, are minimal, their goal is simply to help private monopoly organizations reap high profits. This does not mean any change in the nature of pursuing profits. It is just as Engels pointed out, "In essence, modern countries, no matter what form they take, are capitalist machines, countries of capitalists, and true leading capitalists. The more they take forcible possession of the productive forces, the more they become the

true leading capitalists, and the more citizens they exploit. Workers remain hired laborers, or proletarians. Capitalist relations are pushed to their zenith, instead of being eliminated."² Furthermore, he cynically refuted those absurd comments that took any type of nationalization as an act of socialism. He said "there emerged a sham socialism after Bismarck spared no effort in his work of nationalization. Sometimes it was degraded to such a level that it was fully marked with the habitual practice of servility. It would instantly take any form of nationalization, even nationalization by Bismarck, as an act of socialism. Obviously, if the monopoly of tobacco by the state is regarded as an act of socialism, then Napoleon and Metternich should be regarded as among the founders of socialism."³

2. Is it true that "ownership by civil groups embodies certain factors of the socialist ownership by collectives"? The author who advocated this thinking explained that the so-called economic sector run by civil groups referred to pension organizations, funds, insurance companies, charity groups, and other social organizations in the United States. It is said that the amount of stocks held by these organizations accounts for more than 50 percent of the total amount of the nation's stocks. Proceeding from this viewpoint, they embody a very high level of socialist factors! Thus, what is the nature of the so-called economic sector run by civil groups?

Let's first study the insurance companies. In fact, many large insurance companies are a component part of finance and capital groups. For instance, in the United States, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, Equitable Life Insurance Company, and Chase Manhattan National Bank are the core of the Rockefeller consortium. They use a quantity of the premium received from their insurance business to finance large enterprises, in order to gain the right to control these enterprises. In another example, Nippon Life Insurance Company is a member of the Sanwa Enterprise Group. Tokyo Marine and Fire Insurance Company is a member of the Mitsubishi Enterprise Group. Yasuda Fire and Marine Insurance Company is a member of the Fuji Enterprise Group. Their business is just like that of their U.S. counterparts. For instance, the Japan Life Insurance Company uses its premiums to finance the electricity generation industry, real estate, the iron and steel industry, the machine-building industry, commerce, and financial institutions in the form of investment and loans.

In fact, the so-called pension organizations, funds, charity groups, and other social organizations are part of the consortia or monopoly organizations. They are subsidized by these consortia or monopoly organizations and run their activities according to the directions of these consortia or monopoly organizations. The only difference is that, as they are exempted from tax assessments, they have become a very easy way for financial magnates or monopoly capitalists to hide their income and the profits of monopoly companies. An investigation conducted by U.S. officials on the revenue and

expenditures of 575 charity groups showed that, during the period between 1961 and 1964, 25 percent of the revenue received by these bodies was from consortia while 75 percent was from their speculative transactions on the stock markets and their commercial business activities. Their major expenditures were on scientific research projects about which the subsidizing consortia were very concerned and on other undertakings and speculative commercial activities. As for funds, we may take the Rockefeller Fund as an example. This fund was founded by the Rockefeller consortium, which has interests in several large oil companies. Exxon and Indiana Standard Oil company stocks account for 38 percent of its assets. It controls such cultural and education institutions as the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts Corporation, the Rockefeller Institute, and the University of Chicago. It also controls political organizations such as the Trilateral (San Bian 0005 6708) Commission, whose main activities are to subsidize, in the form of donations and scholarships, scientific research in pharmaceuticals, agriculture, the arts, sociology, international relations, and so forth. Thus, it helps the consortium penetrate and influence the political and social life of the United States, thereby affecting the U.S. administration's policymaking, particularly the making of foreign policy. Furthermore, the fund has expanded its influence overseas.

Therefore, we can see that the so-called economic sector run by civil groups is, in fact, a group of social organizations that are subsidized by consortia or monopoly organizations and which serve these consortia or monopoly organizations for their economic and political interests. It is thus groundless to conclude without consideration that this kind of economy embodies certain factors of the socialist ownership.

3. Is it true that "widespread development of modern stock companies, as well as the separation of ultimate ownership of capital from the right of operation, contains to varying degrees the essence of social ownership," and that "the extensive ownership of stocks by laborers embodies some factors of a socialist stock economy"?

Whether a stock company embodies socialist factors is not determined by whether or not its capital is contributed by an individual (individual capital) or by a group of people (social capital). Rather, it is determined by the nature of capital for the means of production. A host of facts about the development of stock companies in capitalist society indicates that there is no subtle change in the nature of such capital. The stock capital is still the out-and-out value that yields added value. Under that system, the production relations are still the out-and-out ones in which hired laborers are exploited by capitalists. Revenue received by stockholders in the form of dividends still comes from the added value created by their hired laborers. Classical Marxist-Leninist authors expounded on this point long ago. Marx said "the transformation toward the form of stock ownership is still confined by the boundaries of capitalism. Therefore, such transformation has not overcome the conflict

between the nature of wealth, which is taken as the wealth of society, and that which is taken as the wealth of individuals. Rather, it just continues this conflict on a new basis."⁴ Engels said, "whether it is transformed into a stock company or a state property, it is very clear that the capital attribute of its productive force remains unchanged and in the stock company."⁵

Is it true that in a stock company the separation of the ownership of stocks from the right of operation embodies socialist factors? At this point, owners of the capital do not give up their right to the capital. Rather, they are transformed as monetary capitalists and profit-grabbers. A manager who performs the operations is a representative of the capitalist, or an agent of the employer, rather than a representative of the laborers. He runs the stock company according to the wishes of the capital owner. His aim of improving operations is simply to strengthen the exploitation of laborers and to try to obtain the best profits. One cannot find any socialist factor at this point. In this respect, we must eliminate any misunderstanding about Marx's exposition in the following paragraph. Marx said, "In a stock company, functions have been separated from the capital ownership... The consequence of an extreme development of capitalist production is that the capital will be retransformed as the property of producers at a necessary transitional point. However, this kind of property is no longer the private property of each individual producer. Rather, it is the property of the producers as a whole, that is, the direct property of society."⁶ This simply means that the consequence of the separation of right of operation from capitalist ownership is that capitalists will become redundant or parasites of the production process, thereby creating conditions for the establishment of socialist public ownership. It does not mean that the stock company itself embodies any kind of socialist factor.

Statements about "extensive ownership of stocks by laborers" are just a copy of the hackneyed tune of "people's capitalism," that was once spread widely by the bourgeois. We must understand that individuals who join a stock company, or who become stockholders, do not enjoy equal rights in the company. Their right to speak is determined by their number of stocks. In fact, the majority minor stockholders have no right to speak, still less the right of decisionmaking. Actually, the right to make decisions about the company is in the hands of the major stockholders or major capitalists who hold a large number of stocks to such a level that they can control the stocks of the company. Under the circumstances that the ownership of stocks is relatively concentrated, it is generally required that one hold about 40 percent of the stocks of a company in order to control that company. This proportion will gradually decrease in the wake of the issuance of shares and a gradual diversification of ownership. For instance, it will drop to 30 percent, 20 percent, 10 percent, and so on. The "Portman Report," published by the U.S. House of Representatives, acknowledged that "if one holds five percent of

the stocks of an enterprise, one can have a potential influence on that enterprise." Thus, we can see that the more shares are issued and the more diversified the ownership, the more minority stockholders there are; and it becomes easier for a major stockholder to control a stock company by holding fewer necessary shares, which is more favorable to large monopoly capitalists. At the same time, the "extensive ownership of stocks by laborers" as a result of a large-scale issuance of small-value stocks does not make workers capitalists. Though some workers hold a few small-value shares, their annual income derived from these shares is minimal. This has not basically changed their status of being slaves hired by capitalists. Even Samuelson, a bourgeois economist of the United States, had to acknowledge that "to encourage members of trade unions—or their wives—to buy several shares of an investment company is a deception. In fact, compared to their wage rates or annuity, the influence of the rise and fall of even one-percent in the price of just a few shares held by the workers on their living is minimal."⁷ Furthermore, the amount of capital provided by a large number of minority stockholders simply expands the decisive role of capitalists on the capital, as well as labor. This thus increases their scope and capability to exploit the hired labor. It is just as Lenin pointed out: "On the issue of so-called 'democratization' of the ownership of stocks, the bourgeois sophists and the opportunist 'so-called social democrats' expected (or asked others to expect) this to bring about a 'democratization of capital' to strengthen the functions and significance of small-scale production, and so forth. In fact, however, it is simply a means for strengthening the strength of financial magnates."⁸ Therefore, any attempt to find any socialist factor in the "extensive ownership of stocks by laborers" will end in failure.

4. Is it true that "participation in management by workers embodies the factors of socialist enterprise management"? In fact, under the condition in which the private ownership of production means remain unchanged, such an attractive slogan as "participation in management by workers" proposed by capitalists only serves the purpose of covering their naked employment relations with a veil and is used to offset the influence of enterprise management in socialist countries, where workers act as the master of their own affairs, on the workers of capitalist enterprises. It is used to deceive the working class and to mitigate class contradictions. It does nothing at all to change the essence of exploitation of laborers by capitalists. Therefore, it embodies not even a trace of socialism. Like the representatives of workers and other people in the labor force in the congress of a bourgeois country, the statement of "participation in the management by workers" is simply a declaration of the arbitrary rule of enterprises by capitalists. As for proposals suggested by workers, the capitalists and their agents will put them on the shelf if such proposals go against their interests (such as excessively raising wages and welfare benefits). However, they will be adopted, and the one who makes such proposals rewarded, if they are favorable to the management and

operations of the enterprise in question. Obviously, this kind of "participation in management" is unfavorable to laborers. Rather, it strengthens the exploitation of laborers by capitalists and boosts the profits of capitalists.

5. Is it true that "macroregulation of the socioeconomy by developed capitalist countries embodies the factors of a socialist planned economy"? We all know that, in the final analysis, whether or not the socioeconomic system of a country is a socialist one is determined by the ownership of the means of production, rather than the form of regulation of the socioeconomy. On the basis of socialist public ownership, it is necessary and possible to carry out planned regulation of the socioeconomy and to adopt the socialist planned economy. But that is not true if we go the other way round or conclude that any planned regulation of the socioeconomy is a socialist practice. Among the contemporary developed capitalist countries, it is possible that, because of the development of monopoly capitalism, particularly, monopoly state capitalism, a country may carry out macroregulation of the socioeconomy, including a certain degree of planned regulation, by closely cooperating with its financial capitalists, which have both a powerful economic strength and mighty political forces. Nevertheless, the key to the issue rests with the essence of such planned regulation rather than the form of planned regulation. Under the socialist system, planned regulation is carried out in the form of the socialist planned economy. It is a means for pursuing benefits for the laboring people as a whole. Its purpose is to ensure that the whole national economy will have a continuous, steady, and coordinated development, so as to satisfy to the largest extent the ever-increasing material and cultural demands of the whole people. Under the capitalist system, however, planned regulation is a means to strengthen the exploitation of laborers by capitalists. This is because such regulation is formulated by that particular country according to the wishes of the monopoly bourgeois, with the aim of eliminating fluctuations and crisis in the course of economic development so as to safeguard the stable and high profits of the monopoly bourgeois. How can such planned regulation embody the factors of a socialist planned economy? Lenin said that "even though trusts have plans, even though capitalist gurus have given thought to the scale of production in a country or an international domain, and even though they regulate their production in a planned way, they still live under the capitalist system. Even though it is at its new stage, it is undoubtedly true that they still live under the capitalist system. To a genuine representative of proletarians, the fact that this type of capitalism 'resembles' socialism is only proof that the socialist revolution is about to start... rather than that it can tolerate any negation of socialism and whitewash of capitalism by any reformists."⁹ Although the above remarks by Lenin were made in view of the planned regulation of monopoly organizations, they are also applicable to planned regulation by monopoly bourgeois countries.

6. Is it true that "national income redistribution by the government and development of the social welfare system embody the factors of a socialist planned economy"? According to Marxism, it is always held that distribution is subject to production, and not the other way round. Marx said "any form of distribution of the means of consumption is simply a result of production condition distribution itself. And such production condition distribution reflects the mode and nature of production. For instance, the basis of capitalist production is: The material production conditions are held in the form of capital and real estate in the hands of nonlaborers, while the masses can only have the personal production condition, that is, labor. As the factors of production are distributed in this manner, it naturally develops the current form of distribution of means of consumption." "A vulgar socialism-imitated bourgeois economist... interprets distribution as a substance independent from the form of production, so as to describe socialism as mainly an act of beating about the bush of distribution."¹⁰ As the distribution of production conditions under the capitalist system embodies no socialist factors, how can there be such factors in the distribution of means of consumption?

Generally, national income redistribution in bourgeois countries is done through the national budget. The major source of budgetary revenue is taxation, through which the state redistributes the national income which is collected as taxes from different social strata. The principal taxpayers of various taxes are the working class and other laboring people. Statistics show that in the 1970's, the amount of taxes borne by workers in the United States and the FRG accounted for about one-third of their wages, or 45 percent of the income earned by an ordinary British family. This shows that a hefty portion of the workers' wages is eroded away in the form of taxes. Furthermore, serious inflation and price rises sharply cut their real wages. Therefore, the national income redistribution is very unfavorable to the working class.

The social welfare enjoyed by laborers does not mean that the income of capitalists is transferred to laborers. Rather, it is a change in the value of labor or in the form of payment. The sources of welfare funds are mainly the following: First, the premium paid by the insured, which is directly deducted from the wages of the insured; second, the premium paid by the employer, which is still a deduction of the labor cost, because the employer includes it as part of the production cost and passes it onto consumers; and government subsidies, which are paid out of the government's fiscal revenue, and in connection with which laborers still shoulder the burden because its main source is taxation. Therefore, the payment of welfare funds by the state and enterprises is just a reimbursement of that portion of wages that has been deducted from the total amount payable to the working class and other laboring people. This does not change in any aspect the capitalist distribution system in which the added value goes to capitalists while workers can only have the labor value or the labor price.

The aforementioned analysis shows that, in fact, it is impossible to find any socialist factors in contemporary capitalist society. Any move to publicize the idea that capitalism has entered a stage of social capitalism and is gradually developing socialist factors is just to deny the differences between socialism and capitalism and to cover up the contradictions of capitalism. This is the essence and the crucial point of the problem.

Footnotes

1. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 4, p. 168.
2. *Ibid.*, Volume 3, p. 318.
3. *Ibid.*, Volume 3, pp. 317-318.
4. *Ibid.*, Volume 25, p. 497.
5. *Ibid.*, Volume 3, p. 318.
6. *Ibid.*, Volume 25, p. 494.
7. *Economics* by Samuelson, Volume 1, p. 103.
8. *Selected Works of Lenin*, Volume 2, p. 770.
9. *Ibid.*, Volume 3, p. 229.
10. *Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 3, p. 13.

Aesthetic Ideals of Socialist Literature and Art

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in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 90 pp 43-46

[Article by Xiao Yunru (5618 7189 0320)]

[Text] Art and literature are crystallizations of beauty. They gather light from the beauty that is scattered here and there in actual life and this light in turn shines into people's hearts, so that the good and beautiful soul becomes better and more beautiful and the slightly darker soul receives some light, and people are elevated to a more lofty realm in spirit and in practice. For this reason, we can also call art and literature civilization or the aesthetic relationship between mankind and reality. For the same reason, in some languages beauty and ideal represent the same concept. Plato even maintained that the ideal of beauty is beauty itself and is the highest form of spiritual life. Of course, art and literature also reveal ugliness, defined according to the author's aesthetic criteria. In exposing ugliness, the author indirectly presents his aesthetic ideal.

Socialist art and literature is an important component of socialist spiritual civilization. In his "Congratulatory Speech to the Fourth Representative Assembly of Chinese Literary and Artistic Workers," Deng Xiaoping pointed out that, "whether in meeting the people's diverse demands in spiritual life, in nurturing the socialist new man, or in elevating the quality of the entire society in thought, culture, and morality, the literary and artistic workers carry an important responsibility which other departments cannot substitute." He requested our art and literature to "actively contribute to

a highly developed socialist spiritual civilization." One can say that to achieve this mission, art and literature must manifest the socialist aesthetic ideal.

I

The aesthetic ideal has sunk or even been lost in some works of art and literature in recent years and we must not let this phenomenon escape our attention. This sinking is worrisome, for it happens in many works and in different forms of art. Beauty of ideal, image, words and deeds, sentiment, form, and language—in short, a correct aesthetic judgment—is almost totally absent from some works.

A foreign aesthete once summed up modern Western schools of art and literature this way. "The expressionists—a hostile world with lonely and jittery people; the surrealists—a strange world with nervous people; the existentialists—an absurd world with lonely people; the abstractionists—those who are tired of and seek escape from mundane and illusory reality; and those in popular art—those who obtain, but who have no soul in a society of 'mass consumption.'" (See Bao Lie Fu [7637 044] 1133], from the USSR, *Aesthetics*, Chapter 7, Section 3, under the heading of "Modern Schools.") Similar phenomena can be found in some of our works in recent years.

In the kind of life they lead, people are aloof, cynical, or lead a life of luxury and dissipation. Their aesthetic ideal is replaced by decadence, individualism, epicureanism, primitivism, and philistinism.

In philosophical thinking, rationalism and values are sneered at. People are seen as either social creatures or abstract and nonsocial beings. Sex is seen as the source of all human achievement and the soil to grow all aesthetic culture. The aesthetic ideal is encroached upon by intuitionism in expression, pervasive sexual subconsciousness in psychology, symbols in formalism, the idea of letting things take their own course in Taoism, and mysticism in Zen. It is also hurt by the cults of Western thinkers such as Sartre, Freud, Maslow, and Nietzsche.

In art, the aesthetic ideal has sunk to the degree of mocking advanced figures by portraying them as nonheroes and promoting contemporary indifference. Chaotic plots and abusing the harmony of language are the order of the day.

In sum, because the socialist aesthetic ideal has sunk to the level of vulgar and faddish Western modern art and literature, we see in works in China loners who cut themselves off from social life, overbearing people who contribute nothing to society but indulge themselves in epicureanism and undisciplined criticism of society, and people who look different but think alike and who rave to themselves or to each other about something that seems to mean nothing and yet something. We also see the squirming of some abstract lives and blasphemy against our motherland, our people, and our culture.

These works definitely go against the goals of socialist art and literature and human civilization.

Of course, we cannot say that the sinking of aesthetic ideals in artistic and literary creation is of no value at all. The introduction of modern trends of thought to China provides something we can learn from in artistic thought and technique. Some elements can be transformed and then integrated into socialist art and literature as organic components. They exert a positive influence on socialist art and literature in that the latter reflects modern life and adjusts to the taste of modern readers better than before. I believe that as long as learning from the West is a creative inquiry that does not jeopardize the essence of socialist art and literature, we should follow the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and encourage it in literary criticism and creation. If such learning jeopardizes the essence of socialist art and literature, we will have to adjust its orientation.

All of us recognize that, no matter how confusing the sinking of the aesthetic ideal is, its overall tendency is clear. Works of art and literature have ignored socialist life and the lively activities of the masses. In particular, they have ignored the communist system of thought, morality, and ideals in life. This is a crucial issue.

II

Social practice stimulates social ideal. Human beings always have confidence and faith in and hope for life. This pursuit of a more lofty state in life always grows from and blossoms in the activities of the masses, from which history is created. It is the social practice of the masses, not something else, that gives rise to the ideal. This ideal is born from practice in history and is nurtured and complemented by more practice in history. It fills the masses with a historical optimism and keeps them from historical pessimism and nihilism. Progressive and revolutionary politicians, thinkers, and artists pool together the people's expectations for a new life, condense it into sunshine, and outline scenarios in the realms of politics, thinking, and art, to guide and stimulate the masses to strive for them. Aesthetic ideal is only an artistic expression of social ideal.

An important reason why writers and artists have lost their aesthetic ideal is because they have, to different degrees, alienated themselves from their era, the masses, and the progressive social ideal. To leave historical practice and those who carry it out is like leaving sunshine. Once gloom emerges in the artist's heart, germs like paleness, fragility, loneliness, eccentricity, perversion, indifference, obstinacy, pessimism, arrogance, nihilism, and depression will breed, and all kinds of unhealthy and even reactionary Western thought will take advantage of the opportunity to make inroads. A sick and weak state of mind cannot shield attack from all kinds of contradictions in modern society. What is an ideal society? What is ideal life? Whither goes the world?

Whither goes mankind? To artists who have not established a materialist conception of history in mass practice, especially those who insist on spiritual alienation, these questions are a riddle of history and a bizarre ring of life from which one cannot get out.

It is exactly these things that have set the basic tone of some works. They may reflect the reality of some people in modern society. However, when a writer lacks a correct and profound experience in and assessment of this aspect of reality, portrayal of it cannot possibly be a re-creation of beauty. It is, of course, a conceit to treat art and literature as "flowers of vice." If it is a personal experiment and preference of an artist, we cannot prohibit it. Rather, we criticize and guide it. However, history and the masses will not allow it to represent our pursuit in socialist art and literature, for it is not in line with objective social reality, with the general demand of human civilization, and with the nature of socialist spiritual civilization.

The following words by Comrade Deng Xiaoping should serve as our consensus: "To educate the people, we ourselves must first be educated. To give nutrition to the people, we must first receive some. Who should educate artistic and literary workers and give them nutrition? A Marxist answer can only be: the people. The people are mothers of artistic and literary workers. The artistic lives of all progressive artistic and literary workers are linked in flesh and blood to the people. To forget, neglect, or sever this link means to dry up one's artistic life. The people need art and art needs the people even more. For socialist art and literature to prosper, we must take the initiative to draw themes, plot, language, and sentiment from the people and nurture ourselves with the same enthusiasm characteristic of the way people make history. This is the fundamental way."

III

The aesthetic ideal of an era forms the internal trait of art and literature of that age. The socialist aesthetic ideal is an aesthetic condensation of the best of the socialist era. It determines the internal quality of socialist art and literature. Since the founding of the PRC, works from *The Tempest*, *History of Pioneering*, *Song of the Red Flag*, *Red Rock*, and *Song of Youth* to *At Middle Age*, *The East*, and *Wreath Below the Mountains* radiate with the splendor of a socialist aesthetic ideal which is different from previous eras. This splendor is manifested mainly in four aspects of beauty, namely the beauty of social ideals, of actual life, of good values and morality, and of a corresponding artistic form and language.

Beauty of communist ideals and that of socialist reality form the core of socialist aesthetic ideals. They distinguish socialist art and literature from other art and literature and their contribution to the treasure-house of art is unique and irreplaceable. Patriotism and all the good moral mores of the Chinese people, and the artistic beauty that embodies them, cover more time and space and have inherited more from history. However, once

they are absorbed in the system of socialist art and literature they are transformed, adjusted, developed, and created to a new extent, and manifest themselves in qualities of the socialist aesthetic ideal to different degrees.

Actually, the manifestation of the socialist aesthetic ideal in works of art and literature cannot be compartmentalized in this way. The four aspects mentioned above intertwine with each other and become one in the artistic expression of socialist life. They are full of richness and color. Take the beauty of socialist ideals as an example. It is adequately manifested in the heroic call of Red Army instructor Li Youguo before his sacrifice to "let the revolution proceed as it rides on horseback" (in the play *Thousands of Crags and Torrents*). It is also manifested in the warmth of the little clay house in the rain and snow of the great north wilderness that Ding Ling cherished when she was imprisoned on a false charge (*Human World in Rain and Snow*, a collection of prose pieces). And, in Liu Qiaozhen's tender promise to Gao Jialin that "in the future, I want to make you spend Sundays the way urban-dwellers do" (in the medium-length novel *Life*), we hear the longing of a rural girl for imminent social change and a new life.

The beauty of actual life and of good values and morality is all the richer. Lei Feng, Li Siguang, the Baoshan Steel Plant that stands high above the horizon, and the first Chinese ship to go on an inspection tour to Antarctica, and so on, of course, embody the beauty of socialist reality. At the same time, they predict and symbolize a more beautiful future. Similarly, can we not also manifest a noble aesthetic ideal in the portrayal of the daily life of ordinary people who live and work in peace and contentment in New China, and that of love between mother and son, husband and wife, and between comrades, including affection and sexual love? Even works about life in the past can convey an author's socialist aesthetic ideals if the author approaches it with dialectic and historical materialism and demonstrates the progressive tendency of history. As some people point out, we have departed from the limited vision of extreme leftism of the past and we try to develop socialist reality in more perspectives, contemplate the historical background of aesthetics and its profound implications on change today, and pay attention to the unity of a common aesthetic ideal and varying artistic features. These mark our great achievement in artistic and literary pursuit and development of the socialist aesthetic ideal in the new era.

IV

The socialist aesthetic ideal finds aesthetic expression in the form of images of characters, relationships among them, plot development, and overall artistic conception. Together they form the essence of the socialist aesthetic ideal. They also demonstrate a historical initiative.

The most important manifestation of historical initiative is to make a correct historical and aesthetic assessment

of the orientation of life in the future. Are the world and people's state of mind as presented in works of art and literature revolutionary or reactionary? Progressive or backward? Civilized or ignorant? True, good, and beautiful, or false, evil, and ugly? If a writer makes a wrong assessment, it will not agree with the development of history. If, in the guise of objectivity, he avoids making an assessment, he will not point out any tendency. If he does point out a tendency, it will appear blurred. In either case his works will lack any historical initiative.

A main aesthetic manifestation of historical initiative is in the form of images of characters, especially new characters. New characters refer to those who take the initiative to create history through practice. In China today, they are those in different trades and occupations who build and protect socialism under the guidance of the party. From practice in art and literature we learn that socialist new men must be distinguished from idealized figures of perfection and from muddle-headed hooligans who possess only animal instincts. New men are ordinary people, but, spiritually, they surpass the average person. In the course of history they are conscious, rational, and have initiative.

From the ways social conflict and relationships among characters are presented in works of art and literature we can see the extent to which authors grasp historical initiative. This is another important manifestation of aesthetic ideals in works of art and literature. What we can learn from the development of literature in the new era is that, on the one hand, we should not confine works to direct reflection of major conflicts in the socialist era or confine relationships among characters to mirroring major social conflict; on the other hand, the life and people presented cannot in the final analysis be totally free from the restraint and influence of specific major social conflicts. The extent the author reveals or implies this restraint and influence is an important yardstick to measure the aesthetic ideal of his or her work. On the one hand, we encourage more authors to present conflict, struggle, construction, and practice in the socialist era in their works. In recent years this encouragement has been all the more necessary. On the other hand, we permit authors to do so by means of unique artistic forms in different degrees of sophistication and from many perspectives. We do not confine them to approaching the subject from only one perspective. For example, they can, on the basis of major social conflict, portray characters and typical environments, or emphasize a typical state of mind, a typical situation, or a typical artistic concept.

The author's aesthetic ideal is also manifested in artistic form and language, which correspond to the new realm of socialist life. This correspondence between form and content reveals an overall beauty of harmony. Of course, we are talking about dialectical harmony, a unity of conflict, an artistic integration of common and diverse forces. Beauty of harmony shows the author's state of mind is healthy and upwardly aspiring and that he is able to digest complex life and cast it into complete works of

art. The presence of disharmony reveals the author's inability to free himself from conflict in reality. There is no lack of examples of such frustrated and dejected authors in both Chinese and foreign literary history. They occupy a place in literary history because they stand for a view on art and society. This is their contribution. They reflect the conflict and disharmony of the past. However, I believe these authors and their works cannot possibly be in the mainstream of socialist art and literature.

Writers and artists cannot put a political or social concept on the surface of their works and say they manifest the socialist aesthetic ideal. What these works need are moral integrity, literary integrity, even comprehensive cultivation in the spiritual aspect, and perhaps numerous rounds of tempering. This, of course, cannot be accomplished immediately and least of all in one's office. Let us persevere in our pursuit of it in social and artistic practice.

Thinking Associated with the 'Name'

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in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 90 p 47

[Article by Liu Ren (2692 0086)]

[Text] People always see reputation as their second life. It is reasonable to do so, as one's disgrace or honor depends on whether one has a good reputation. Throughout the centuries, so many have given their best in the hope of making their name in an official rank, yet how many did make it?

Reputation is a reflection of substance. Reputation without substance is a fabrication. It does not come from one's own wishes, but is an assessment by others and public opinion. Mr. Qian Zhongshu once said that reputation is "what people think of me." Marx also said that "in the beginning people use others to reflect on themselves." Society assesses a person's image and reputation based on his/her words, deeds, moral character, and contribution to society. Yan Zhitui, a man of letters from the Northern Qi dynasty, argued that "the relationship between name and substance is like that between a body and its shadow. If one has a good moral character and good skills, one's reputation must be good. Similarly, if a woman is pretty, so also must her shadow be. If one expects to have a good reputation without first cultivating moral character, it is like an ugly woman blaming the mirror for the ugly image she sees in it." It is clear, therefore, that those who earn an undeserved reputation are actually cheating themselves.

The way one sees reputation reflects one's value judgment, world outlook, and outlook on life. Those who earn a reputation by cultivating a good moral character and doing practical work deserve it. Those who work hard but do not aim at making a name, but do become known due to their outstanding contributions, truly deserve it and our respect. The names of the true elite of mankind are always linked to great deeds and are the

symbols of their times and history. It is perfectly justified for these giants of history to be held in high esteem. History is created by the people. Behind the names that shine in history books are hundreds of thousands of nameless heroes. To realize the great ideal of communism, countless nameless Chinese Communist members sacrificed their lives to lay the foundation of the republic. History will not forget these people who forgot themselves and viewed sacrifice as a joy and a duty. It is precisely these named and nameless heroes that built our national spirit.

Unfortunately, we see as often the opposite of the above. Some people cannot establish a reputation with virtue, skill, and accomplishment, but are eager to make a name and so fish for name and compliments or even gain them by deceiving the public. They do so with power, money, or cheating, and grab reputations they do not deserve. This is stolen reputation.

There are various and sundry ways to steal a reputation, some of which are as follows.

To steal reputation with power. Some people take advantage of their power and status to make themselves known. Usually they do not miss any opportunity so to do. They go everywhere and, wherever they go, they bluff, but afterwards their names appear in the press, reporting that an expert named so and so made another wonderful speech. These people are usually good at bragging. There are often followers to echo them and so they become even better known. Some steal reputations by a different means. They use their power to examine and approve research results and, as manuscript reviewers, put down their names before the author's. In this way, they make themselves known without effort. Others use their power to gain academic qualifications or professional posts. They have neither academic qualifications nor specialized skills, but easily obtain qualifications "equivalent to" this or that educational attainment, and with it obtain professional posts.

To buy reputation with money. Currently, this method is quite popular. People from all trades, though unknown, can have their names in the *Who's Who Directory* as long as they pay a certain sum. In this way, directory compilers make a fortune and "celebrities" whose names are in the directory gain a higher status. There are also those newly rich who make money by crooked means and then buy a title and publicize it by printing it on their name cards. Or they use the title to cheat. This method was once very popular. I personally came across a name card with more than 10 titles which took up most of the space, so that the name had to be printed on the margin. Was it a name card or a title card?

To gain reputation by shocking people. Some people deliberately make shocking statements or try to please the public with claptrap so as to make themselves known. If you say modern Chinese literature bloomed after the May 4th Movement, they will say all May 4th literature is garbage. If you say there may be a little vice

in the national character of the Chinese people, they would deliberately argue that no, the Chinese are absolutely hopeless. Liu Xiaobo, the "cream" of the riot and a "black horse" in literature, publicly negated all our national tradition and advocated "flesh" and "sex." He takes pride in betraying the nation and digging ancestral graves. Did he not make himself known with shocking statements?

The reason why reputation thieves get by is because some people easily trust and admire "celebrities." Reputation thieves manipulate it to achieve their end. Cannot we learn something from examples of those cheated by their blind belief in "celebrities"? It is very easy to keep reputation thieves from having their way: Hear their names and observe their deeds. Do not be intimidated by undeserved reputation and do not blindly adore "celebrities." Strengthen honest and upright administration so as to curb people from making a name with power. Stop turning "celebrities" into commodities. Despise reputation thieves. Expose swindlers. These are the best ways to deal with reputation thieves. Besides, we should also sing the praises of the unnamed heroes who selflessly contribute to socialist undertakings.

The Sweet and Bitter Cherry Dream—A Review of the TV Drama *Cherry Dream*

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[Article by Zhao Guang (6392 0342)]

[Text] In the 1980's, the numbers leaving China gradually became an exodus. The problems of students studying abroad have also become a popular subject of conversation and a social concern. The television drama *Cherry Dream* (written by Shen Haofang and Huang A Yuan and directed by Huang A Yuan) has won the applause of viewers with its intense emotion and thoughtful inquiry.

Cherry Dream portrays in a realistic style the different experience of three young Chinese women who financed themselves to study in Japan. The drama thoroughly illustrates the joys and sorrows of their studies and lives and the numerous hardships they suffer in a strange land. From their fate, one realizes that studying and working abroad is no easy thing. Foreign countries are not full of gold, as some people brag. In the complex situations the young women find themselves in, the sisterly love between the women from Mainland China, the brotherly affection between those from China and Taiwan respectively, and the affection between the people of China and Japan appear all the more moving.

The three women came from different parts of China and went to the cherry country in search of a cherry

dream. What they did not dream of was that once they got off the train, they realized they had been cheated by their "agent." Housing, work, a comfortable life, interpersonal relations, and so on, were all far from what they expected. The cherry dream pales immediately... A vivid character portrayal conveys effectively the theme which is the joys and sorrows of these women's experiences. This is where the artistic charm of *Cherry Dream* lies.

Chen Jingru came from Shanghai. She is a mature, kind, and sincere woman from a family of humble means. To go abroad, she had to sell all she had and leave behind her mother, who was her only family member. Her aim in going abroad is very clear. She wants to acquire knowledge and then work for our motherland. This gives her the drive to face the harsh reality and she is extremely determined to achieve her goal. She gets up early and goes to bed late and works for an income while studying at the same time. As the eldest of the three women, she is understanding and always willing to help others resolve their problems. When the other women are in difficulties, she comes forward to help them. This shows she has a strong sense of responsibility and sacrifice. Having to cope with studies, work, and stress, she becomes very exhausted and ill. She finally achieves her goal and comes back to China. At the end of the drama she utters a thought-provoking line, "We overseas students..." In each word is so much bitter experience, so much hardship! Zhou Meihui is from Guangdong. She is childlike, naive, and cowardly. She quits studying and becomes the wife of an Overseas Chinese in Japan. This unexpected "reward" certainly attracts both envy and jealousy from others, yet the difficulties of "being a foreigner in another nation" are indescribable. The one with the most character, and who ends up being most tragic, is Lin Shan, a woman from Beijing. She is a rising singer and actress in China and dreams of making her name in Japan. Because of inexperience and ignorance of Japan she falls into evil hands. This TV drama reveals the dreams, frustrations, shallowness, traumas, and spiritual self-salvation of a group of Chinese students abroad. It reveals the thinking of contemporary Chinese youth, especially those studying abroad. It is significant in reflecting a widespread social phenomenon.

Cherry Dream employs the use of warm tones so that the harsh and tragic reality in the story is neutralized with warmth. For example, the Japanese professor who is kind, honest, understanding, and approachable; the Japanese landlady who is kind, hospitable, and caring; the Taiwanese compatriots and the Overseas Chinese in Japan who understand and help each other; and the students from China who help each other whenever necessary. The characters are very sincere and human and this makes the drama very moving. When a Japanese foreman humiliates "you Chinese!" Cui Mingyi bravely defends our national pride at the expense of losing his job with a Japanese employer. Cui

is at first a money-minded and funny character. In this scene (defending his national pride) he at once becomes noble and solemn. He turns into a profound character with moral strength and the portrayal of this character becomes more sophisticated. The drama is rich in meaning and it eloquently demonstrates the great centripetal force of the Chinese people.

That the cherry dream of the three women finally shatters is revealing. It is natural to have dreams, but we must not live on them. A good and happy life is earned with hard work. We should forever love our mother and forever remember that the most reliable land is our motherland. Our own hands are the best means of making our dreams come true!

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